NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The League's Business

Dykstra Dies Serving Others

Clarence Addison Dykstra, president of the National Municipal League from 1937 to 1940, died suddenly at his home at Laguna Beach, California, on May 6 at the age of 67.

It was typical of his zeal for service for the public good that his distinguished career was brought to an abrupt end by his volunteering to help fight a grass fire in the neighborhood.

Mr. Dykstra successfully blended the activities of civic leader, educator and public administrator. Born in Cleveland, he was graduated from the University of Iowa and studied for two years at the University of Chicago. He taught for fourteen years before returning to Cleveland to become executive secretary of the Citizens League. He moved to similar positions at the Chicago City Club and the Los Angeles City Club.

For seven years he held important administrative posts in the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power before becoming city manager of Cincinnati in 1930. His handling of the disastrous flood situation in 1937 brought him national fame and the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, where he served for eight years, with time out for a series of vital assignments from the United States government. These included director of the National Selective Service Administration (during the period of initial expansion under the draft law), Advisory Commission on Education, Recreation and Welfare to the Army and Navy, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, and member of the United States Group in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

In addition to service as the League's president and on the Council, Mr. Dykstra was president of the American Political Science Association in 1938 and president of the International City Managers' Association in 1932.

He had been provost of the University of California at Los Angeles since 1945.

Northeast Regional Conference on Manager Plan

Sponsored jointly by the National Municipal League and the New Haven Citizens' Committee for City Manager Charter, a Northeast Regional Conference on the Council-Manager Plan was scheduled for June 2 and 3 at Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Many state and local civic groups in New England, eastern New York and New Jersey joined in sponsorship, including the Connecticut and Rhode Island Public Expenditure Councils, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, Massachusetts Plan E State Association, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, Poughkeepsie Tax and Rentpayers, New Haven League of Women Voters, Hartford Governmental Research Institute, Cambridge Civic Association, Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association, Springfield Taxpayers Association and many others.

The program was designed for communities interested in getting the council-manager plan and those which have the plan and want to get the greatest benefit from it.

Opening speaker on Friday afternoon was Donald Spencer, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, on The Manager Plan—Spearhead of Civic Progress. This session discussed How to Get the Manager Plan, with reports on campaigns in Worcester, Hartford, Bayonne, and other cities. Featured speaker of the Friday evening meeting was former Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, president of the League.

Saturday morning four concurrent sessions discussed: (1) Elements of a Good City Charter, (2) Elements of a Good Town Charter, (3) Permanent Citizen Organization for Good Government, and (4) Good Government Programs in the Schools. These four sessions merged into one late in the morning, addressed by Professor Arthur L. Thexton of the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut, on maintaining good government.

Editorial Comment

Waste of Civic Energy

IT IS common to complain of the lack of civic energy and leadership in American communities. There never seem to be enough people ready and willing to devote enough time to civic and community affairs.

The article in this issue entitled "Running a City the Hard Way," by Professor Arthur W. Bromage, suggests one reason for this chronic complaint. Professor Bromage shows that the city of Ann Arbor's outmoded weak mayor charter exacts an inordinate toll on the time and energy of many citizens in and out of public office just to keep the wheels of government running smoothly and in the right direction.

What is true of Ann Arbor is true of a majority of the cities, towns and villages in the country—and virtually all the counties. Except for about nine hundred council-manager places, and a considerably smaller number of streamlined strong mayor municipalities, most communities are like Ann Arbor, trying to govern themselves the hard way with old model machines that have to be coaxed along the highway of civic progress in much the same fashion as an old 1910 automobile.

The time of busy citizens is wasted in a good many ways. Failure to provide adequate professional staff to obtain and present information needed for sound policy decisions forces citizens, untrained for that sort of work, to grope around for information, the nature and significance of which they are not quite clear about. It often results in delayed or half baked action which causes still further waste. Moreover, the typical old-style government invites duplication and competition of effort. The time wasted by the citizens holding official positions on municipal councils and administrative boards is likely to be more than matched by the time necessarily consumed by citizens who have to deal with a government lacking an identifiable head, a sensible differentiation of organs and a clear delineation of responsibilities.

It is no wonder that just about the time a really high-grade citizen gets well broken in as mayor or councilman in such a government he, or his wife, decides it is time to go on strike against long hours, with little or no pay and plenty of complaints from a public that is prone to blame the men for the inadequacies of the machinery.

This is why an increasing number of thoughtful mayors and city councilmen are taking the initiative in urging adoption of the council-manager plan. They realize that this system makes it possible for the citizen official to give much better service at much less personal sacrifice. He is no longer expected to be a governmental researcher, a straw-boss, an errand boy for his constituents and a municipal statesman all at once. The manager and his staff are there to do the research and execute policy. The elected official can devote himself to translating public opinion and public needs into policy decisions. Freed of tasks for which he is not fitted, he can give undivided attention to understanding the overall problems of his municipality. He has the time for foresight.

Labor saving machinery and devices have revolutionized manufacturing, farming, transportation, office practice and housekeeping. Methods of organization have increased the efficiency of policy makers and managers in business concerns. Such modern methods have now been tested in municipal organization for nearly half a century. It is high time that the people in communities still struggling with horse and buggy governments get wise to the fact that they are tolerating a grievous waste of that most precious commodity, civic energy.

It may well be that many communities are not really suffering from a lack of civic energy so much as from the wasteful and inefficient use of it. In this increasingly complex world which demands attention from the citizen to global as well as to vital community problems we simply can't afford to wear out our best citizens in trying to run our local governments the hard way.

Why Politicians War Against P. R.

FEAR of a breakdown in party alignments on the local level is the nub of the current battle in the legislature over Plan E's proportional representation election system.

That's why old-line politicians are bending every effort to make last year's P.R. repealer stick for cities who want Plan E in the future, and even perhaps outlaw the system altogether in Massachusetts.

The growing interest in Plan E's council-manager form of government —eight of the state's 39 cities have adopted it—has them worried. . . . P.R. doesn't lend itself handily to political manipulation and direction in local elections.

Neither does it aid in any direct manner the working organizations of the two major political parties. Patronage and party regularity are their mainstays.

But Plan E advocates maintain that partisan politics has no business in local government. They contend that municipal administration is primarily a service organization, providing water, sewers, streets, police and fire protection, schools, etc. For that reason appointments of administrators should be based solely on ability and not political considerations.

They claim P.R., because it obscures party lines, tends to bring about able administrations.

During debate in the Massachusetts House on the question, Representative Gabriel F. Piemonte (D) of Boston pointed up a collateral issue. Last year he favored abolition of P.R. But he has since changed his mind.

Piemonte voted with Plan E defenders to restore P.R. fully to the Plan E charter. He said he noticed that last fall's elections in the cities with Plan E resulted in greater representation of minority groups in local governments. This convinced him that P.R. should be preserved until a better system of representation is devised. It's time, Piemonte said, that "we get away from the green and blue," referring to the usual complexion of Democratic and Republican tickets in past years.

By CHARLES E. CURRIER, in Worcester, Massachusetts, *Telegram*

Commuters Aid City Comeback

Philadelphia, after ten years of income tax, has cash on hand to proceed with public improvements long dormant.

By ROBERT K. SAWYER*

TO THE average American, Philadelphia is usually typified by a picture of Billy Penn carrying the Liberty Bell in his hand—possibly to wake up the citizens. It is not always regarded as a progressive city. However, Philadelphia has contributed more than traditions to the progress of this nation and more than ice cream, Philadelphia scrapple and production of television sets. With cash in hand, the area is now on the move to compensate for the many years in which public improvements lay dormant.

It is not the purpose of this article to demonstrate that Philadelphia is a great city nor to describe the awakening that has brought top leaders of the community together in the Greater Philadelphia Movement to press for completion of important projects, most of which require improved government in Philadelphia.

This is the story of the principal means by which Philadelphia's financial position has been changed from one as low as the Cubs' final standing to that of a league leader. For Philadelphia's earned income tax—commonly but fallaciously known as the wage tax—coupled with improved national income has been the financial savior for a city which faced virtual bankruptcy just ten years ago.[1]

There is nothing unusual about the fact that Philadelphia was saved from financial disaster by a new tax. It is the character of this tax which is unusual, for Philadelphia's earned income tax is definitely a metropolitan area tax. It is a means of assessing to its daylight citizens at least part of the burden of maintaining the heart of the metropolitan area. Moreover, it is a direct tax imposed squarely on the shoulders of those receiving the benefits.

How is it applied? It is simply a tax on the salary, wages and other compensation earned by: (a) residents of Philadelphia regardless of their place of employment and (b) nonresidents who work in the city. It is also applied to the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions conducted in the city, whether by residents or nonresidents, or conducted outside the city by residents. The tax applies also to the shares of residents of the city in the net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions conducted outside the city jointly by residents and nonresidents. It is assessed at a flat 1¼ per cent on all taxables, with no exemptions.

The tax has been collected on salaries, wages and other compensa-

*Mr. Sawyer, formerly director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, has been executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement since its inception. This article is based on his address before the Civic Federation of Chicago.

[1]See also "Philadelphia's Tax in Fifth Year," by Robert J. Patterson, the REVIEW, October 1944, pages 452-457.

tion of individuals earned since January 1, 1940, and on the net profits of unincorporated businesses earned since January 1, 1939, although the tax was imposed by ordinance of city council approved December 13, 1939.

Two features of this tax are particularly worth noting. The first is peculiar to Pennsylvania. The tax was imposed by city council without special authority from the state legislature. This could be done because Philadelphia has had a kind of home rule in taxation matters since 1932, under the state's Sterling Act, which provides that Philadelphia may tax anything which the state does not tax. This limitation precludes imposing the income tax upon corporations.

An interesting sidelight of this home rule in taxation is the fact that local taxation provides 84.5 per cent of Philadelphia's revenue—the highest of the fourteen largest cities. State and federal aid accounted for only 4 per cent in 1948 contrasted with a 20.9 per cent national average.

Secondly, the earned income tax is not a graduated tax. This is because of a state constitutional provision that all taxes must be uniform, which has been interpreted by the Pennsylvania courts to prohibit graduated taxes.

In 1938 the city imposed a tax of much the same scope, which provided for an allowance of $15 to the taxpayer for making and filing his return. Since the rate was 1½ per cent, this was in effect an exemption on the first $1,000 of income. The ordinance was tested in *Butcher* vs. *Philadelphia* and was supported by the courts except for its exemption provisions.

The stage for adoption of the 1939 income tax ordinance was set with the adoption of a 2 per cent sales tax in 1938, which was bitterly fought by the merchants during its eleven-month life.

The outstanding feature of the earned income tax—that of imposing a tax upon nonresidents working in the city—is not peculiar to Philadelphia.[2] This particular feature is applicable to any metropolitan area and represents a solution to the problem of offsetting loss of wealth to the suburbs and consequent loss of needed revenue to maintain the work center.

Tax's Yield

How well has the tax worked? The earned income tax was imposed in 1939 at a rate of 1½ per cent. This rate was effective for three years, 1940 to 1942 inclusive.[3] Following a campaign by the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in 1942 the rate was reduced to 1 per cent. The Bureau of Municipal Research and some others opposed this change on the ground that revenues were needed for capital improvements. At the adoption of the budget for 1950 the rate was increased to 1¼ per cent.

In the first three years the tax produced $14,800,000, $19,900,000 and $24,800,000 respectively. In 1943, the first year at 1 per cent,

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[2] See "Income Tax Aids Annexation," by R. T. Anderson, the REVIEW, October 1949, pages 443-447.

[3] 1939-41 net for income for unincorporated businesses. Also collected in 1943 (for 1942) from individuals paying directly.

the revenue was $20,800,000 and increased each year to $27,600,000 in 1947. In 1948 it jumped to $31,200,000 largely as a result of special efforts to collect revenues due —an outgrowth of the work of a special committee on city finances appointed by the mayor and president of city council, known as the Committee of Fifteen. In 1949 it was $30,700,000. In the ten years the tax has been in effect a total of $239,617,416 has been collected.

The trend of the revenues points out two more significant features of the tax. First, is its "boom-or-bust" characteristic. The tax receipts have "boomed" steadily upward with the rise in national income to a point where the annual revenue has more than doubled in ten years. As a result of this rise, the city has made no change in its rate of real estate tax during the entire period. The earned income tax accounted for 26.6 per cent of the city's total revenue in 1949. Income from the real estate tax was 42.7 per cent of the total revenue that year compared to 66.5 per cent in 1939, the last year preceding the tax.

The "bust" will come if city council makes an optimistic appraisal of its probable revenues in any year in which a major decline in national income should occur, since such changes are almost immediately reflected in the revenue from the wage tax because of its pay-as-you-go character.

The second feature pointed up by the revenue trend is that of equity of collections. Since the bulk of the tax is withheld by employers, most of it is collected rather easily. This withholding feature is a Philadelphia first, antedating the federal withholding practice.

But about 10 per cent of the money due the city is difficult to collect. This is the portion which comes principally from small businesses and individuals living in the city but working outside. Collection of these moneys requires extensive auditing and many checks to find who is liable for the tax and to what extent. In fact, in some cases the work required is more costly than the revenues obtained.

The result is that there is a distinct inequity in collections. Unlike most taxes imposed by the city, this one requires a great many more accounts and considerable resourcefulness for adequate collection. A tendency of our politically elected magistrates to free violators didn't help. This has been corrected in large part by a new chief magistrate.

Sleuthing Pays Dividends

The sharp increase—from $27,600,000 to $31,200,000—in 1948 revenues over 1947 was in part due to the adoption of new collection methods in the receiver of taxes' office, as a result of studies by the Committee of Fifteen, and in part to a change in the ordinance to provide for "pay-as-you-go" on a quarterly basis by employees whose tax is not withheld by employers. These persons are principally residents working outside the city and governmental employees.

For example, employees of RCA-Victor in Camden who live in Philadelphia are liable for the tax. However, RCA, as a New Jersey firm, does not withhold the tax, nor does

it furnish the receiver of taxes with a list of names because its unions oppose such action. In 1948 the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, in a study for the Committee of Fifteen, checked Pennsylvania license plates at the RCA parking area, established residency and ownership, verified the actual employment of individuals with RCA and checked the payment of the wage tax. It was found that 72 per cent of this sample group did not pay the tax. It was also found in other studies that approximately 30 per cent of small businesses did not pay it.

On the other hand, a few large concerns with plants in the suburbs have offices in the city. Taxes are withheld by these firms for all employees even though their physical place of work is not in the city.

Courts Sympathetic

Of importance to any governmental unit considering adoption of an earned income tax is Philadelphia's experience in the courts.

The courts have sustained the right of the city to tax federal and state employees working in Philadelphia, establishing a broad rule that the tax is not on the employer—in this case the federal and state governments. The city gets copies of the federal W-2 tax form and collects from the individual governmental employee.

The right to tax nonresidents, members of professions and so on has been established. In short, liability of all salary and wage earners except ministers and priests has been affirmed. The clergymen won a court decision which was not appealed because the city fathers did not think the revenues worth while and feared popular opinion.

The city's income tax ordinance has been tested as a burden on interstate commerce and none was found. A test case based on class discrimination between professions and laborers was dismissed. The right to collect from employers has been firmly upheld as well as the right to tax earned income from trust investments in real estate. The application to net profits of unincorporated businesses has been consistently upheld where the taxable was clearly a business activity.

The question of application of the tax to profits from the sale of stocks and bonds was recently contested by an individual. The city lost this case in a lower court, primarily on the ground that it was not a business activity. This decision was substantiated by the higher courts. Following this the city, by ordinance, at the same time the rate was increased to 1¼ per cent, attempted to widen the base of the tax this year to include all business activities. This was contested by a great many firms in Philadelphia as a violation of the Sterling Act, which granted the right to Philadelphia to tax only those things which were not taxed by the state. Because of its importance to the city budget the Supreme Court took original jurisdiction and decided that the provision for the widening of the tax base was in violation of the state act.

A recent case involving the arrest of a federal employee who has not paid the tax for several years demonstrates the respect in which the legal

status of the tax is held. This man was a New Jersey resident employed at the Philadelphia Navy Yard who, in the course of work, never set foot in any part of Philadelphia except the Navy Yard, a federal reservation. Although New Jersey politicians have constantly attacked the tax, an appeal to the governor of New Jersey by the mayor of Camden, in an attempt to obtain state counsel for this federal employee, was refused. It was refused on the ground that the courts had clearly demonstrated the man's tax liability, and New Jersey's attorney general stated that the only relief was in legislation.

Numerous attempts have been made both to outlaw the ordinance through state legislation or to grant special exemption through state or federal legislation. Thus far all have failed. There seems to be no great inclination by the state legislatures to reduce the city's rights to impose taxes nor by Congress to interfere in this matter. Since the passage of Act 481 granting many other political units of the state the right to tax things not taxed by the state, the effort has been further minimized. Incidentally, although, as of May 1949, 162 political units in Pennsylvania have an earned income tax, it has not affected the income tax in Philadelphia since Act 481 protects the city's rights against other units.

Labor Opposed

In considering adoption of a new tax it is well to know the general feelings of the community concerning it. The principal opposition to Philadelphia's income tax, right from its inception, has come from labor organizations largely because there is no provision for exemption applying to persons of low income. Although that opposition is not as vocal now on the tax itself as in earlier days, these organizations have never changed their feelings and waged strong opposition to the 1950 rate increase. Labor was not alone. Unincorporated businesses, though not organized, have raised objections and been the source of a number of test cases.

There has been no concentrated effort for repeal, however, probably because of no suitable alternative to supplant the needed revenue. Students of government generally consider it a progressive tax from the standpoint of coverage, although most of them agree with labor in dislike of the lack of exemption which would alleviate the burden on low income groups.

It is significant in appraisal of opposition that only two objectors appeared at public hearings conducted just prior to adoption of the tax in 1939. It is significant too that, in on-the-record discussions of possible tax increases, public opinion has favored increasing the income tax rather than the real estate tax. Our political assessing methods probably have something to do with this, but the principal reason given is, "We don't have to pay it all at once." The financial situation in the city was so critical and the alternatives—such as a sales tax or increase in the real estate tax—so unpopular that it was adopted more by default than by merit.

Nonresidents have frequently at-

(Continued on page 287)

Playing to Get Touchdowns

Cleveland Citizens League committee checks on officials to see that city makes use of $75,000 efficiency report.

By GEORGE S. CASE, JR.*

MAYOR Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland took an unprecedented step when he asked the Citizens League of that city to check on how well city administrative officials were following the recommendations made by Griffenhagen and Associates, a firm of management consultants who had completed a lengthy survey of the city toward the end of 1947. The league had watched the activities of the experts, aiding in their study.

The report consisted of four thick volumes and covered every executive department, including the mayor's office. Probably few read it. Even the newspapers found it too large to digest. The director of the Citizens League, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., read it, however. Then he waited. At the end of six months little had happened. So Mr. Larcom went to the mayor.

Now the mayor had issued instructions to his cabinet to adopt as much of the report as possible. He was shocked to find out—kind of a "your best friend won't tell you" affair—that his $75,000 investment was standing idle. He quickly agreed with Mr. Larcom that a committee should be selected by the league and appointed by the mayor to find out what had been done in applying the survey recommendations and to report back to the mayor.

Twenty years ago no city official in his right mind would have asked the Citizens League to stick its nose into the city's business. At that time the league was a hell-raising outfit that blasted away at city hall upon any provocation—and there was plenty to raise hell about.

But in the last decade the caliber of the top executives of the city has changed. When Guy Larcom came to Cleveland in 1947 he realized that the city officials were honest, well meaning and trying to do a good job. It was his influence that changed the type of league criticism so that it became constructive and discriminating. I was one who questioned this change in attitude but now I am thoroughly convinced it is the best approach to any city government when that government is run by honest officials desirous of doing a good job.

The committee to report on the report was large—a hundred members—but it was carefully chosen. Its members knew a lot about the fields to be surveyed. They were not captains of industry but they were capable lieutenants. They were people who could and would spend time and thought on the city's problems.

The chairman of the subcommittee

*Mr. Case, president, formerly treasurer, of the Lamson and Sessions Company, is president of the Citizens League of Cleveland and headed the league's committee which investigated the use to which the Griffenhagen report on city administration had been put. This article is based on his address before the National Conference on Government, St. Paul, November 30, 1949.

on public welfare was a nationally known authority on the subject. The chairman of the subcommittee on public safety was the city's leading personnel man. The chairman of the subcommittee on public service was a young man with previous governmental and business experience who, in a short time, had made a remarkable record. There were political science teachers, labor leaders, housewives, lawyers, experts on governmental budgeting and some, like myself, who might prefer to be called practical businessmen.

Ball Starts Rolling

The committee was broken up into many subcommittees to coincide roughly with the city departments. Certain committees did cut across departmental lines but, in the main, they dealt with only one. The work was guided by a steering committee consisting of subcommittee chairmen.

The mayor gave the committee a big send-off. It met with him, his cabinet and the top civil service commissioners and the mayor outlined what he expected of it and what he expected of his administrative officers. They were to be frank with the committee and it was to be frank with him and he never once mentioned the obvious danger to him, politically, of carelessly worded reports.

The first problem was to find copies of the Griffenhagen reports. Apparently, there weren't enough to go round and many of them were mislaid. The dust flew around city hall while directors and commissioners searched for them. Probably many directors then studied the report on their departments for the first time.

The first meetings of every subcommittee were held with the top officials. Some directors had obviously not read the reports and at first a few of them took a resentful attitude as indicated by this comment from a Citizens League report to the mayor: "Instead of treating this report as a tool for management improvement, the commissioners of this department have generally adopted a defensive and hostile attitude toward it. From their point of view it seemed to represent either the captious or ill-conceived criticism of doubtfully competent outsiders to be rebutted or an exercise in good government, to be borne with until it passed over."

Thanks to considerable restraint on the part of city officials and members of the committees there were no leaks to the newspapers, which ultimately gave plenty of space to criticisms of the administration. By the time the committee reports were issued the city officials had already made some progress, primarily because of our prodding.

How could committee members tell when a public official was giving only "lip" service to the Griffenhagen recommendation? How could committee members tell what was right when officials disagreed with recommendations? It wasn't as difficult as it might seem. Progress in applying the reports was easily determined and, since committee members were experts as well as "do-gooders," it was possible to determine the merit or lack of merit of an official's position.

In quite a few instances the committee agreed with the official instead of with the report although there were more instances where the reverse was true.

The interest of the committee members was amazing. They were busy people, yet they took time not only to meet with city officials and to read the reports but also to attend subcommittee meetings as well as general meetings where subcommittee chairmen reported informally on the work of their committees.

'Good Enough for Father'

There were some interesting experiences. At the time of the survey the fire chief was an old, rugged fire-eater who had been fighting fires since the days of the horse-drawn pumper. He was a courageous and able fire-fighter and was known to have left a banquet which he was attending in full dress clothes and patent leather pumps to lead his men in subzero weather into a burning building. As a matter of fact, he went in first to see if it was safe for his men.

When it came to such things as modern methods of fire-prevention, training of firemen and administration of a department, however, this man was convinced that no report of a board of fire underwriters, or "some young whippersnappers" from an efficiency house, or "do-gooders" from a better government organization could show him anything.

Since then that chief has retired and a new fire chief is doing his best to pull Cleveland out of a fourth-class rating. He is revising his fire-fighting manuals and instituting modern training procedures. He is locating new fire stations properly and acquiring modern fire-fighting equipment. He is adopting modern methods for fire-prevention. Whereas the reports had been wasted on the former chief, this chief appreciates their value.

In the field of budgeting the subcommittee met with considerable resistance from budget officials. In fact, one went so far as to write a rebuttal on the Griffenhagen recommendations. It would have been easy for this committee to write a report blasting these officials and then go back to their jobs. Instead, they sat down again and again with these men and really did a selling job. They pointed out that the figures had to be gathered anyhow and that they might just as well be organized to be of assistance to the mayor and departmental heads as to be organized in the fashion they were.

The mayor was sold by this committee on the fact that he could better control the activities of his departments and give better service for the tax dollar if the Griffenhagen recommendations were in effect. This subcommittee is still in existence and is helping the city revise its accounting and budgeting procedures.

Here are some highlights from the covering letter sent the mayor with the first subcommittee reports:

"Five subcommittees, corresponding to the five major city operating departments, have been meeting regularly with the department and division heads over a period of two months. . . . The work of the committee has been divided into two staffs. First, the follow-up on the reports of the city operating departments, safety, health and welfare,

properties, service and utilities; second, an examination of the recommendations relative to the general management of the city, including the functions of the law department, department of finance, civil service commission and the mayor's office. . . . Some officials have not accepted the reports in the spirit in which they were made, despite the fact that this survey gives the man opportunity to make, and to take credit for, reforms which should lead to savings and improved services. . . .

Follow-through Needed

"Your committee members realize that in any business there is always a defensive stiffening of resistance against a critical program of change. A survey will be debunked by employees up and down the line in a variety of ways and will end by being shelved unless someone in authority supports it strongly and firmly. . . .

"Much of the value of the Griffenhagen reports on the city government will be dissipated without more executive follow-through than has been shown to date. Your committee is convinced of the sincerity of the administration in its intention to utilize the reports to the fullest possible advantage but is concerned about the lack of concerted pressure to overcome disinterest, apathy and outright disagreement. There is a singular disinclination on the part of the directors to order the reports to be put into effect and to take issue with their subordinates when they fail to act.

"In one or two cases the heads of city divisions have indicated that they were handed reports without instructions to put them into effect. No determined follow-up has been made in such cases. It is also true that a well meaning director may support the recommendations, but the negative attitude of his staff may tend to thwart him and to dissipate the effect of any changes initiated in accordance with the reports. In one division the committee found that even minor proposals that did not affect jobs, salaries or responsibilities were not followed or tried.

"Many issues raised in the reports have been disregarded because they called for negotiations with other departments and divisions or increased expenditures or basic changes in policy. In some cases Griffenhagen merely proposes that certain changes be made slowly or on a trial basis. Even this has not always been done. . . .

"These general observations do not apply in equal degree to all departments and divisions and we do not wish to create the impression that the report has been generally neglected or that a number of officials have not conscientiously followed the recommendations. There is, however, a wide area of accomplishment remaining. . . .

"The committee specifically recommends to you the designation or the employment of a staff official who would be assigned the responsibility of following up on the reports. This official should report directly to you and be backed by the executive authority of the mayor's office. His duties would include an examination of the reports, meetings and discussions with officials at all levels, frequent reports to you for decisions in

cases where there is staff disagreement with the report recommendations, inquiries to determine that reductions in staff in accordance with the reports are actually made, and from time to time preparation of reports for public consumption to show savings and progress in connection with the report recommendations.

"This official could initiate preliminary consideration of some of the questions of over-all reorganization involving the abolition or transferal of functions that should have the attention of your office and on which so far there has been no action.

"Our committee would be glad to cooperate with him. Many of the minor yet important proposals in the reports could not be covered by our committee and will go unattended unless you take some action along this line.

"Second, we strongly urge that your directors instruct their commissioners to reconsider every proposal and at least give most of them a trial; that they review with their commissioners the debatable recommendations and that a final decision be made by your office in each where they do not propose to follow the report recommendations.

"The following subcommittee reports should not be considered a substitute for the Griffenhagen reports themselves or even an official summary. We have tried to focus attention on key recommendations to popularize the reports in the interest of securing greater attention and support.

"The cooperation of the city officials and their interest in the meetings with the subcommittees were outstanding and we thank you and them for the spirit in which they approached the discussions."

Since it was impossible for the mayor to follow up on his own recommendations and orders—to say nothing of the Griffenhagen report—he was persuaded to hire a retired businessman, with no political ambitions, to be his assistant. This executive assistant is now doing this work for the mayor, helping department heads and seeing that action is taken.

Committees Still Active

There are still subcommittees on personnel, purchasing and budgeting. These committees are assisting those departments in achieving their goals and their members are welcomed around city hall because of the aid they can give from their knowledge and experience.

The score sheet of accomplishment which is kept by the Cleveland Citizens League shows many points that have not yet been covered but, with a moderately well run city, it is too much to expect it to become perfectly run in any short period of time. If the Citizens League can be effective in helping to keep the city moderately well run and in encouraging officials to make improvements, then it will have done all that could be expected of it.

It was a good job that never could have been done without honest city officials and able committee members. As a result of this Citizens League action, the league and the city officials have both gained in stature.

Running a City the Hard Way

Officials under a weak-mayor strong-council charter need personality, perseverance and practice to make things go.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE*

BEING a city councilman is a difficult art under any form of government; being a city councilman under a weak-mayor, strong-council charter is especially difficult. Under the council-manager plan the council can tell many individuals and interest groups to see the manager first. Control of administration, supervision of department heads and even suggestion on basic policies properly center in the office of the manager. Under the weak-mayor plan much of the work which under a managerial system would properly be dealt with initially by an executive, flows directly from administrators to council committees. As a consequence, councilmen spend much time at city hall and are involved in details as well as broad policies.

I was elected to the city council of Ann Arbor, Michigan, from Ward 6, in April 1949, for a two-year term. I survived a three-cornered fight in a party primary and went on to win in the general election. What I have to say now grows in large measure out of the freshman year as councilman in a mayor-council city.

In every city councilmen are "structured into" a going system of one kind or another. They have to learn the ropes and find their way around amid organizational charts, procedures, pressures and politics. In weak-mayor cities, complex organization and procedures add to the normal difficulties.

Ann Arbor, with an estimated 1950 population of 53,000, including college students, has a special-act charter (1889), with some home-rule amendments. It is a weak-mayor city with a ward-elected strong council. Nominations and elections are partisan. Each of seven wards elects one alderman each year for a two-year term. This makes fourteen aldermen plus the president of the common council, elected at large by partisan ballot.

The council has an elaborate committee system: bond and license, budget, finance, fire and police, lighting, ordinance, park and cemetery, public works, traffic, transportation, water, ways and means, welfare and health, nominations, public relations, municipal court and real estate. Most mayoral appointments are subject to confirmation by the council and all important departments are headed by boards or commissions: police, fire, public works, parks, public health and water supply.

As in other cities, city hall is the

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seat of a bureaucracy which has been doing business for years. Councilmen come and go but department heads traditionally serve anywhere from fifteen to thirty years. The freshman councilman is dependent on these long time administrators for facts and figures. He cannot go it alone without their assistance.

Moreover, the new councilman, fresh from the people, becomes one member of a relatively stable body. With overlapping tenures council always has an incumbent majority of seniors. Councilmen sit at tables by wards and the freshman sits in the junior councilman's chair at the left hand of the senior member. The freshman is structured into a going committee system headed by old-timers. If he is lucky, he gets to be chairman of a "freshman" committee, such as park and cemetery or welfare and health.

Pulling Together

Weak-mayor, strong-council government can be made to work only by an energetic mayor, hard working councilmen and long term administrators. To compensate for a lack of integrated authority and responsibility all must pull together. If informal techniques should fail chaos could result. Lay citizens who, as board or commission members head the various administrative departments, must likewise coordinate with council and mayor on one level and with administrators, such as the police chief, fire chief, engineer, park superintendent, public health officer and water superintendent, on another.

Structural deficiencies of Ann Arbor's weak-mayor, strong-council charter are offset by personality and practice. The incumbent mayor is in his third two-year term. A businessman with energy and drive, he brings to the council fresh ideas and persistence. Every council meeting opens with communications from the mayor; usually he is present in person to read, explain and argue for his policies. The progress which the city is making in expansion of the water supply, the sewage treatment plant and off-street parking facilities has been partly in response to his urging.

In recent years the mayor's slate of appointments to administrative positions has been readily confirmed by the council. There has been no debate on the merits of his appointments. This easy relationship has not always existed and may not always prevail. Again it is cooperation rather than power which makes the wheels go round.

Within the last year the mayor has acted as negotiator between the city and the Veterans Administration as to water and sewer lines to serve a new hospital outside the city limits. It was largely mayoral efforts, backed by the technical advice of department heads, which brought about agreement between city and V.A.—an agreement confirmed by council in 1949. The mayor also spark-plugged council action in issuing $1,100,000 of water supply revenue bonds for expansion of the water filtration plant.

The council, like the mayor, has a free and informal working relationship with department heads: police chief, fire chief, city engineer and others. The public works committee of the council, for example, meets on

alternate Monday nights to review with the city engineer the grist of miscellaneous business, special assessment projects, contracts, purchases and other matters which must be whipped into formal resolutions for the council. Every functional council committee meets in a similar manner with opposite numbers in the administrative mechanism. In a set-up with a strong mayor or a manager, the committee system would be unessential and departmental executives would not need to do double duty in pushing their programs through their immediately superior lay boards or commissions and the committees of the council.

Art of Compromise

On legislative issues all councilmen soon learn the art of compromise, the technique of the second best. Leadership in legislative matters, aside from the pressures applied by the mayor, comes from the respective council committees, with budget, ordinance and public works committees carrying the heaviest burdens. Ordinance and public works committees must meet before every council session to compromise issues and to whip ordinances, amendments and resolutions into proper form, assisted respectively by the city attorney and the city engineer. Other committees meet on call, as determined by the chairmen, for virtually all council business, controversial or otherwise, goes through committees first.

In April and May the budget committee carries a real burden. The proposed budget goes directly from the budget director to the budget committee of the council. The budget for fiscal 1949-50, amounting to one and a quarter million dollars, was passed by council unanimously and without debate. However, compromises had been made through six meetings of the budget committee and one session of the "committee of the whole." By way of contrast, some city councils have passed a manager's budget in one session and without committee action. The difference is that our budget committee holds hearings on the budget with departmental representatives, a task which in council-manager cities falls to the manager.

Our committee system works reasonably well on non-controversial and repetitive types of action, such as creating special assessment districts, awarding contracts and passing ordinances on which there is no conflict. Most of the city's business does not create serious division in the council. Matters flow from administrators to council, to committee, to council, and back to administrators, in an unending stream. One may well ask, however: If 90 per cent of the business isn't controversial, why go through this elaborate process? The answer is that weak-mayor, strong-council government has no alternative.

Where conflict arises the committee system must work overtime. In 1949-50, there have been major conflicts over the milk ordinance, the house-trailer ordinance, the legality of Lustron houses under the building code, and city-county health coordination. The latter was a live one from November 1949 until March 1950.

Our city health officer must retire in 1950. Last November, therefore,

I conferred with the mayor about the possibility of appointing the Washtenaw County health director to serve also as city health officer. I wrote to Kalamazoo, Michigan, and obtained the facts on their system by which one administrator serves both as city and county health officer. In December these facts were presented to the council and discussed in two successive meetings. In January 1950 the Ann Arbor council created a special committee to negotiate with the Washtenaw County board of supervisors. In February this committee met with the health committee of the county board. A verbal agreement was reached providing that the county health director should serve part time as city health officer and arranging necessary details.

Citizens Lend Support

Meanwhile the Ann Arbor Citizens Council, the League of Women Voters and the County Medical Society became active in support of city-county health coordination. The *Ann Arbor News* wrote three editorials supporting the proposal and gave extensive news coverage. The Washtenaw *Post-Tribune*, a weekly, ran a special feature story on the "Kalamazoo plan."

Late in February the city attorney and the county prosecutor drafted the necessary formal resolutions for the respective city and county committees. Finally, on March 6, the city council passed a resolution, requesting the mayor to appoint the county health officer as city health officer, by a vote of nine to four. Three days later the county board passed a resolution authorizing the county health officer to serve in this dual capacity. On March 20 the mayor announced he would make the appointment in due course. This proposal carried because it was a compromise form of coordination, rather than consolidation of city and county health departments.

Study of the same problem by a special committee appointed by the mayor in 1947 had favored consolidation of the city and county health departments, but this would have required a charter amendment and was, politically speaking, too advanced for the council. Coordination was a constructive step forward, but it was achieved only by councilmanic time and energy and by hammering out the issue in committee. Had the city and the county been operating with managers, such a plan could properly have been achieved by administrative study, recommendation and final city council and county board action.

Price of Weak-Mayor Charter

The price of a weak-mayor, strong-council charter lies in the extra effort which all concerned must put into informal techniques of coordination and cooperation. In major issues the departmental chief, the lay administrative board, the appropriate council committee, the council and the mayor must ultimately reach agreement on policy. At a minimum this means the meeting of minds of some twenty busy persons. When new problems arise which cross departmental lines, the tendency is to set up a special council committee to pull all the forces together. This

runs the total of persons to be consulted to 30 or more.

Reformers in Ann Arbor have long pointed to the council-administrator relationships as inefficient because of the lack of an executive focus between administrators and councilmen. They have urged a manager, single-headed departments and a streamlined, nonpartisan council, elected at large, without functional committees. If the mayor under the weak-mayor charter were to try to cut off direct councilman-administrator relations, he would be violating both the letter and spirit of the law. There is no alternative, if a major change is desired, other than complete charter revision.

Waste of Time and Energy

Only those individuals who can afford to devote 300 to 400 hours per year to the city's business should undertake to serve as councilmen in our city. They should be prepared to deal in administrative details as well as in policy. They must be willing to cooperate and coordinate to the fullest extent with mayor, fellow councilmen, lay administrative board members and administrators. Only by extra-special effort by the councilmen can the system be kept in balance. This is part of the price of a weak-mayor, strong-council charter. Another aspect is that administrators are sometimes confused by the divergent layers of authority in control at the top. Finally, citizens are sometimes doubtful as to just where final responsibility does rest for policy and administrative action.

COMMUTERS AID CITY

(Continued from page 277)

tacked it. Editors of New Jersey newspapers love to editorialize on "taxation without representation." The answer usually given to that argument is that both residence and location of employment of the taxpayer have come about because of the individual's choice and the status of either may be changed as he wishes.

The earned income tax has the following advantages: (1) it distributes the tax burden to nonresidents who have an economic interest in the welfare of the city; (2) it reaches the individual directly, giving him a greater awareness of his financial participation in the city's government; (3) revenues obtained are sufficiently large to avoid the necessity of numerous taxes and hidden taxes (Philadelphia has not taken advantage of this characteristic, for it has a great many minor taxes including an amusement tax, a parking lot tax and literally hundreds of license fees); (4) an advantage accrues to real estate owners through the continuance of a low real estate tax rate.

The disadvantages are: (1) administrative costs for comprehensive collection are high, whereas without comprehensive collection inequities result; (2) revenues rise and fall rapidly with changes in income and therefore require careful checks to prevent large surpluses or major deficiencies in the budget, (3) last but not least, is the relatively heavy tax load on persons of low income.

What Do the Citizens Think?

Louisville's mayor uses opinion research techniques to see how the man in the street feels on public questions.

By JULIAN L. WOODWARD and ALAN SCHNEIDER*

MOST political scientists agree that city government in the United States is, in general, less efficient and more graft-ridden than federal government. There is agreement, too, that citizens are less interested in what the city fathers do, and know less about it, than they do about what happens in Washington.

There is also consensus that, if citizens knew more about the government of their municipality, they would participate more fully in it and that it would then be better government.

How to get them to do this is the problem. Today we hear much talk of community forums, citizens planning commissions, neighborhood councils and "our government" programs on the radio. Most of us are also aware of the activities of civic associations like the Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce, local labor council, the churches and Parent-Teachers Associations. All these are good activities and help promote the partnership between municipal government and the citizen.

There is another less well known device, however, that can be of considerable aid both in developing civic spirit and in improving the service city government renders to its constituents. This device is the local public opinion survey. With the aid of modern opinion research techniques the citizens can be made articulate on local issues. What is more important at this stage, their degree of understanding of these issues and the amount of their interest can also be measured.

Take Louisville, for instance. It is a city of 400,000 population with most of the problems of other American cities of similar size. Louisville has slums, overcrowded schools, traffic problems, racial problems, a smoke nuisance, a housing shortage.

But, in addition to this, Louisville has something that sets it apart from other cities. It has a most unusual mayor—a man who has fresh ideas about what a city government ought to do for its constituents. Of course, like other conscientious mayors, Charles Farnsley wants to cope with slums, with the smoke nuisance, with traffic problems and every other problem that besets municipal administration today.

But Mayor Farnsley also has visionary ideas concerning things which a city government can do in the fields of education, race relations and local neighborhood organization. To do the relatively new things he has in mind, as well as to carry on the ordinary business of municipal government effectively, the mayor

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must have the support of the people. He has to find out if they want the things he wants for them, and how much. This is where the Louisville Citizen's Survey comes in.

The survey arose in part as the result of a long friendship between Mayor Farnsley and Elmo Roper. Roper had done several surveys in Louisville in the days when Wilson Wyatt was mayor but these were one-shot jobs, dealing mostly with immediate political issues. Mayor Farnsley has made the survey into a regular institution. Three times a year, at city expense, the Roper organization does a survey in Louisville, talking each time to a scientifically selected cross-section of the adult population. The citizens are interviewed in their homes and information is gathered from them that helps the city government decide what to do on various problems. The education survey will illustrate how the city administration uses the device as an adjunct to government.

Education Problems

As the first step in the education survey, the mayor set up a committee headed by the superintendent of schools and including the president of the local university, the head of the university adult education program, the head of the local parochial school system and the city librarian. This committee met with the survey director to discuss the content of the survey. Each committee member was asked to talk to the question, "What problems in my department have I that I would like to consult the people of Louisville about?" The official was urged to confine his answers to those problems where the public's opinion could have some direct bearing on administrative decisions. In a democracy, however, that is not much of a limitation.

It took a little time before the committee members grasped the kinds of things that the survey could do for them. Then the problems came fast and furious.

The superintendent of schools wanted to know whether he had public backing for his much discussed policy of coeducation in the city's senior high schools. He wanted to know, too, what people thought of giving sex education as a part of the public school curriculum. And he was very much interested in getting some kind of estimate of the probable support for a night school adult education program he was launching. How many people would even consider attending free evening classes and what kinds of courses would they be most likely to register for—automobile mechanics or home making or "the world's great books," or what?

The university president and the librarian were both excited about the mayor's program of college classes in neighborhood libraries that they were undertaking cooperatively. What kind of interest was there in taking university courses with your neighbors as fellow classmates? Or would people prefer to take the courses over the radio in their own homes, tuned in to an actual class on the campus but doing "home work" on mail assignments?

The university representatives were also extremely curious concerning the knowledge local citizens had about their municipal higher educa-

tion institution. Did they think it actually was tax supported and to what extent? Did they think it should be?

The librarian wanted some information about use of library cards. He knew how many cards he had issued but not how many people were using each card. And he was interested in finding out what kinds of people, in what parts of the city, were the heavy users. He wanted statistics that could be gathered by a census but that a sampling survey could quickly and cheaply provide.

Survey Results

All these questions—plus many others—added up to a survey. The Roper organization took them and wrote a questionnaire, tested it, then interviewed a thousand Louisville citizens in a carefully designed pattern so as to make them an accurate representation of the 250,000 adult residents of the city. The anonymous questionnaires were then taken back to New York City for tabulation and analysis and Roper rendered a detailed report of the findings to Mayor Farnsley.

What was done with this report? First, it was sent to the original committee. But it was also made available to everybody. Some of the findings were published in the local press and copies of the complete report were put in all the city libraries. The mayor believes that when a city consults its citizens the citizens have the right to know what they said collectively. He thinks also that publication of the survey findings is one of the best ways to make the people aware of the problems the government is facing on their behalf and conscious of their own responsibility to help solve these problems.

But the results should not only be published, they should also be acted on. This was done, too, in Louisville. The school superintendent found that he had strong support both for coeducation and for sex education, so he dismissed his doubts about them and continued the present policy in effect. He discovered that he had a large potential public for evening classes, especially for such subjects as homemaking, how to be a better parent and how to make a family budget, so he went ahead on setting these classes up.

The university officials learned that they had an information job on their hands to explain to the people that the university *was* a tax-supported municipal college. The librarian discovered that half the families in Louisville never took books out of any city library at all and consequently that he, too, had an information problem.

All in all, one can say that the education survey helped the city administration by checking on public support for some programs already in effect and by suggesting the need for specific new programs. The people as a body are not expert on many things but, on what they themselves think and feel and want, they are the only ones qualified to have an opinion—they *are* the experts.

The education survey is only one example of how Louisville is now consulting the people. Another example is the survey on taxation, done to find out which of three ways of raising additional money the citizens would "dislike least." The results of

this study were also published but the mayor did not adopt the plan favored by the majority. He stuck to his own plan and had it adopted, although he modified it somewhat in the light of the survey results.

Explanations in Order

This action of the mayor in going counter to a survey majority can be defended as sound democratic procedure. After all, democracy does not mean that an elected official should always act in accordance with popular mandate — especially when the mandate comes from a public opinion poll. A majority of the citizens did favor an increase in the tax load in order to do certain things they felt were needed in Louisville, so the mayor was differing with them not on the general end but only on the best means to attain it. The choice of appropriate means—in this case the choice among three tax plans —is in some sense a technical matter, involving knowledge that a poll respondent does not always have.

The public may well approve of a general policy (the end to be reached) and yet disapprove of a specific measure (means) to carry it into effect. When this happens it should be a red flag to the city officials. They should not necessarily change the policy but they had certainly better recognize the need to explain it and the means used to put it into effect. Mayor Farnsley did recognize this on his tax program. He used the press, radio and his weekly "beef sessions" as forums in order to better explain his ideas.

The survey technique can be employed in connection with all sorts of problems of city government officials. Here are some illustrations of things the Louisville Citizen's Survey could find out:

1. What laws and ordinances people believe in and are willing to obey, what laws they believe in but will violate when opportunity offers, what ones they definitely do not believe in. Also what laws and ordinances they know are in existence and what ones they are ignorant of.

2. What people think of the police—their honesty, efficiency, courtesy. How does the reaction to the "cop on the beat" near one's home differ from the reaction to the "force in general."

3. The amount and kinds of medical, dental and nursing service people now use and the adequacy of the service now available to them. Also, what they know about the kinds of service that are available.

4. The nature and extent of the housing shortage. Who wants new accommodations, at what rental level, in what part of town? What should the city do to help solve the housing problem? A survey on housing was the third in Louisville.

5. What do citizens of Louisville think about gambling in general and bookies, bingo games and slot machines in particular? How rigidly should the city enforce the laws against them? Should the laws be changed? Some questioning has already been done on this topic.

6. How much do people know about the structure of their city government? Whom should they go to to get different questions answered or things done? Do they know who the city officials are?

7. Why do so many of Louis-

ville's ablest young people leave the city? What do young people think Louisville lacks as a place to grow up and get ahead in?

There are some very definite limits on what surveys can find out and also some uses to which surveys should definitely not be put.

Surveys should *not* be used to investigate people's attitudes on issues that are, at the time, heavily involved in local politics. In Louisville the mayor can't run for reelection after a full term in office but, if he could, he should not use survey results as a basis for claiming that he is the "people's choice." So long as the survey is financed by public funds it must stay out of local politics just the way the U. S. census stays out of national politics. There is no quicker way to kill the survey than to put people in a position to say, "Oh, that's the mayor's little device for proving he and his party are always right."

No Referendum

It is a mistake also to claim that the survey is a referendum. People are not voting when they answer survey questions on doorsteps. They are expressing snap judgments — judgments that might be altered by the information that would reach them during the course of an election campaign. It is better to think of the survey as a means through which citizens can give free advice to their government and not as a formal mandate from them to do something. The survey is not yet a substitute for the ballot box and, for our part, we hope it never will be.

Finally, the survey results should not be trumpeted forth in bare percentages—"X" per cent answered this way, "Y" per cent that, on each given question. The percentages always need expert interpretation. For, like any measuring device, the survey has an error in it the magnitude of which varies in different circumstances. Survey users must listen to the technicians to learn what they can properly infer from the public's answers to a survey question. Figures can lie in public opinion research. So can words. Also liars can figure! So, a citizen's survey must be conducted by people who are trained in both the technique and the spirit of science. Then they will not only do research that is honest and competent—they will also be able to interpret its results to the officials who will act on them.

If these limitations are accepted, the citizen's survey can become a government tool of major importance. After all, public administrators really have three kinds of problems. They must first find out what the people want, then they must devise programs through which these wants will be satisfied and, finally, they must get the cooperation of people to make these programs effective in action. On the first and the third of these problems the citizen's survey can be helpful. It can help make city government more democratic by consulting the people on what they want. It can help make city government more effective by finding out on what things people's cooperation will be freely given, on what things it must be developed through an educational program and on what things it cannot be gained at all.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Jersey Provides 14 Optional Charters

Broad Home Rule Powers Go Along with New Forms

A NEW local government law, providing fourteen optional charters with additional variations as to size of councils, was adopted by the New Jersey legislature in May. The law was the result of two years' work of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government,[1] supported by the New Jersey Citizens Committee on Municipal Government, representing important state civic, business and labor organizations and various local committees.

The new law is based on the second report of the so-called Faulkner Commission. The fourteen options include six variations on the strong-mayor plan, four on the council-manager plan and four designed especially for municipalities under 12,000. The strong-mayor and council-manager options are available to all municipalities. The differences among the options in each category relate to the method and times of election and arrangement of terms of the mayor and members of council.

The mayor-council options provide for either nonpartisan spring elections with a run-off where necessary or partisan fall elections. They also permit choices between staggered and non-staggered terms and between election at large and a combination method of election at large and by wards.

The same variations are permitted in the council-manager plan except that all elections are nonpartisan. The council-manager options follow the National Municipal League's *Model Charter* closely. They eliminate the provision for qualified tenure for the manager in the old New Jersey city manager act, which has discouraged adoptions in recent years.

The strong-mayor options are standard except that they call for council confirmation of appointment of department heads. They provide for a department of administration headed by a "business administrator" as the principal managerial agent of the mayor in fiscal and personnel administration.

The small municipalities plans provide streamlined versions of borough and township government. They place principal responsibility for administration in a mayor elected either by the council from among its own members or separately by the people. The mayor appoints other officers with the advice and consent of the council. The treasurer is the chief financial officer and it is possible to combine offices so as to give the mayor a general managerial assistant. The mayor will be a voting member of council and the other members, in accordance with township and borough tradition, will be permitted a more active role in administration than is contemplated in the other plans.

Any municipality adopting one of the optional charters will be relieved of much existing mandatory legislation and will, in the words of the commission, have "the widest possible discretion . . . to determine the organization of its departments, the compensation of its officers and employees,

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 603; March 1949, pages 114 and 159; April 1949, page 197; and April 1950, page 190.

the range and character of its services, subject" only to general law applicable to all municipalities.

The new options may be adopted either by direct petition and referendum or on recommendation of an elected charter study commission. Changes in the program made by the legislature include elimination of a provision requiring a vote not later than 1959 on the question of electing a charter commission and increases in petition requirements particularly in smaller municipalities.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Iowa City, Iowa, (1940 population 17,182) voted 3,132 to 2,286 to adopt the council-manager plan at a special election on April 17.

A council-manager charter was adopted in **Sterling, Colorado,** (7,411) May 2.

The voters of **Negaunee, Michigan,** (6,813) on April 3 adopted a council-manager charter, similar to one rejected in 1945.

The village of **Tuckahoe, New York,** (6,563) on May 8, adopted an ordinance creating the position of village manager. This officer, however, is to act only with "the consent and approval of the village board," is appointed for two years and is designated as an executive assistant to the mayor. He may hire and fire village employees excepting department heads and other officers.

The following Maine towns adopted the council-manager plan at town meetings in March: **Lisbon** (4,123), **Carmel** (870) and **Brooks** (744).

In **Lebanon, Maine,** a committee of five has been appointed to study the manager plan for possible consideration at the 1951 town meeting.

The town of **Eliot, Maine,** recently defeated a manager proposal, 240 to 63.

The **Manchester, New Hampshire,** Taxpayers' Association has voted to continue its efforts to promote the council-manager plan. A bill introduced in the 1949 legislature passed the House but was killed in the Senate.

The town of **Madbury, New Hampshire,** a rural community of some 400 people, is considering adoption of the manager plan in conjunction with one or more other towns.

A committee to study the manager plan has been appointed by the town moderator of **North Andover, Massachusetts,** as authorized by the annual town meeting March 18. The committee is to report to the 1951 meeting.

The town moderator of **Brookline, Massachusetts,** has appointed a committee to study the manager plan.

The town of **Holden, Massachusetts,** has authorized a committee to study the manager plan and to report by November 15.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island,** James T. Pierce, formerly active in Democratic politics, has petitioned the town council to consider the advisability of abolishing town meetings and have a town manager under the control of the council. The latter took the proposal under consideration.

The **Harrisonburg, Virginia,** Chamber of Commerce called a mass meeting for May 23 to discuss the council-manager plan, which is favored by the chamber's executive committee. Harrisonburg now has a city superintendent or manager with limited authority.

Greenville, South Carolina, is expected to vote at the general election on November 7 on adoption of the council-manager plan. The referendum was authorized by the 1950 legislature.

In **Savannah, Georgia,** the council-manager plan was discussed at a public forum on April 21 under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. One candidate for the State Senate pledges his support of the manager

plan. A letter from a senator running for reelection stated his intention to introduce legislation for a referendum vote on the plan.

A charter commission in **Livonia, Michigan,** is drafting a new charter. The Good Government League advocates the council-manager plan.

A strong element in the **Illinois** State Chamber of Commerce is reported to favor enabling legislation to permit any municipality to adopt the council-manager plan. At a panel discussion in Bloomington, Illinois, on April 25, attended by 70 presidents and managers of local chambers, it was recommended that the state organization actively support such legislation. At present in Illinois only municipalities under 5,000 population may adopt the manager plan by referendum. Villages may adopt it by ordinance.

In **Washington, Missouri,** Mayor Bernie Hillerman favors the council-manager plan and the Washington *Missourian* advocates a study.

The **Boonville, Missouri,** Junior Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring an educational program on council-manager government.

A proposed manager charter for **Pueblo, Colorado,** was defeated on April 18, 6,526 to 5,998. The city will continue, therefore, under manager amendments adopted last November.

Chickasha, Oklahoma, voted 1938 to 785 on April 4 to retain its manager government.

Clarksville, Texas, continues the plan by virtue of a vote of 439 to 266 on March 28.

After a campaign marked by bitter controversy and confusion of issues, all council-manager amendments to the city charter were defeated in **San Antonio, Texas,** at the May 9 election. The group of thirteen amendments to convert the charter into a council-manager type, sponsored by Mayor Jack White's committee, was defeated 22,461 to 18,068. The rival "single-shot" manager amendment was snowed under 6,235 to 3,384.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Kennewick, Washington,** is studying the manager plan, which is again becoming an issue in that city.

The **Madera, California,** Chamber of Commerce is studying the plan.

St. Louis Board Agrees to Strong-Mayor Charter

The Board of Freeholders of St. Louis, Missouri, which has been working for a year on the draft of a new city charter, met on April 5 for final approval of the document, which is to be voted on by the people at an election to be called by the board of aldermen—at the August 1 primary, the November 7 general election or, as recommended by the charter board, at a special election.

Salient points of the proposed charter are summarized in an "address to the people" which was adopted by the board on April 4. They are as follows:

1. Places responsibility for administration clearly in the hands of the mayor and provides him with "more adequate machinery to discharge his responsibilities";

2. Requires the city to live within its income and operate within its budget;

3. Provides for a city auditor appointed by the board of aldermen to make an independent audit of all agencies under the mayor—the auditor is given power to institute court action as may be necessary;

4. Reorganizes administrative departments, boards and agencies "providing the framework for more efficient and economical performance of city services";

5. Reduces appointive offices and

boards from 42 to 22 and eliminates city officials as ex-officio members;

6. Provides the board of aldermen, for the first time, with means of continuous investigation of the administrative departments to determine whether they are operating economically.

7. Gives city greater home rule by making all so-called county offices subject to budget control and authorizes the city, through the board of aldermen, to levy an earnings tax, but limits the tax to 1 per cent.

8. Strengthens the merit system and extends it to cover the offices of the treasurer, revenue collector and license collector;

9. Provides for easier recall of the mayor and board of aldermen and extends recall to the county offices.

10. Requires the water department to keep financial records on the same basis as a private utility to show its true financial condition;

11. Establishes an aviation commission to operate city airports "on a businesslike basis";

12. Provides that every 25 years the voters be given the opportunity to vote on a new or revised charter.

The charter also provides for a chief administrative officer, who would perform such duties as the mayor may direct in order to coordinate and improve the administration of the various departments and agencies and carry out the executive policies of the mayor. The job would be appointive, not covered by civil service nor subject to confirmation by the council.

Administrative Assistant Proposed for Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Charter Commission has decided upon a "strong mayor" type of charter, rather than the council-manager form, but proposes that the mayor have an administrative assistant or managing director, who would make all appointments of department heads except the city solicitor or law officer, who would be appointed by the mayor.

Much controversy has arisen over the question whether the city council should be empowered to confirm the mayor's selection for his administrative assistant. On April 25, by a vote of seven to six (with two members absent), the commission approved such confirmation. However, by a vote of eight to three, it decided that the mayor could dismiss his assistant without council permission but that the assistant could have a hearing before the civil service commission. Should the latter decide that the grounds for dismissal were insufficient, the assistant would be entitled to full pay until the end of the mayor's term, although the dismissal would stand.

It had been hoped that a new charter would be ready for voter action at the November general election but it now appears that a later special election may be necessary.

Norfolk Revises Zoning Law, Makes Administrative Changes

Norfolk, Virginia, is now operating under the first major revision of its zoning law in a quarter-century. Instead of permitting practically all uses of property except those explicitly forbidden, as was formerly the case, the new ordinance specifically designates the uses of property according to well defined zones. It increases these zones from seven to thirteen.

It requires that in the newer, outlying districts, future builders of the larger commercial establishments must provide off-street parking and loading space, according to a prescribed formula, if they are situated on two thoroughfares, and that new buildings and additions of 50 per cent to present

buildings in the central area, under certain conditions, must provide for off-street loading.

Appeals from interpretations of the ordinance by the board of zoning appeals will be to the courts instead of to the council.

The city has created a new department of parks and recreation on the recommendation of City Manager C. A. Harrell, who stated that budget-wise recreation in Norfolk today ranks with such departments as welfare, safety, public works and health, and that the welfare department, where these matters were in the hands of bureaus, had too many heterogeneous subjects for effective supervision.

In January the city established a new centralized payroll procedure and two months later council appropriated $7,500,000 to create a central records bureau in the police division.

Court Says Yonkers Employees Did Not Strike

The Appellate Division, Second Department, of the New York Supreme Court ruled on March 9 that the work stoppage of garbage collectors[1] in March 1949 was not in violation of the Condon-Wadlin law declaring strikes of public employees to be illegal as had been claimed by the city.

Quinquennial Census of Governments Proposed

A bill to require the Department of Commerce to take, compile and publish a census of governments, for 1952 and every fifth year thereafter, has been introduced in Congress by Representative Tom Murray, chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to which committee it has been referred. Such census would cover much valuable information, including data on taxes and tax valuations, governmental receipts, expenditures, indebtedness and employees of states, counties, cities and other governmental units.

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1949, page 181.

Missouri Governor Shakes Up Kansas City Police Board

Following the murder of political boss Binaggio in Kansas City, Missouri,[1] Governor Forrest Smith, who has the power of appointment and removal of police commissions in that city and St. Louis, has appointed a former member of Kansas City's legal staff to fill a vacancy on the police commission and is reported to have asked three present members to resign. Another vacancy occurs July 1.

Easier Amendment Urged for Kentucky Constitution

The 1950 session of the Kentucky General Assembly, which adjourned March 17, received a report from the Constitution Review Commission, established in February 1949 by executive order of the governor to make a thorough study of the constitution of Kentucky.

The commission did a remarkably thorough job, considering the limited time at its disposal. Much of its work was done through subcommittees which utilized the talents of many experts from various professional and business pursuits. It recommended that 68 of the constitution's 263 sections be changed or deleted, and that five additional sections be given further study. It recommended also that the changes be made by amendment rather than by convention and suggested that priority be given to an amendment to the amendatory clause. The General Assembly adopted this recommendation and submitted an

[1]See "Behind the Scandal," REVIEW editorial, May 1950, page 223.

amendment to a vote of the people. If adopted at the general election in 1951, the amendment will accomplish the following important purposes:

1. Remove the provision that not more than two amendments can be submitted at one time;

2. Permit the General Assembly to provide for a single vote on a group of amendments;

3. Require the submission of amendments at the next "general election" instead of the next "general election for members of the House of Representatives";

4. Permit amendments to be proposed at a special session of the General Assembly, if stated in the original call.

No other amendment was proposed by this legislative session, although the review commission had asked that one be submitted which would permit the legislature to establish specialized courts.

The General Assembly did act favorably on the commission's recommendation that a permanent Constitution Review Commission be established by legislative act. It is to be hoped that this commission will be able to achieve some success in bringing the constitution up to date and keeping it abreast of the times.

The next important step in Kentucky is passage of the amendment in 1951.

Among the commission's recommendations for the future are these:

1. To permit extension of the biennial legislative session of 60 days to 90 days on a vote of two-thirds of all members elected to each house;

2. To permit the legislature to provide for appointment rather than popular election of the secretary of state, treasurer, commissioner of agriculture, labor and statistics, superintendent of public instruction, clerk of the Court of Appeals and members of the three man Railroad Commission, or to abo ish any of these offices or make ther subordinate to other departments– the attorney general would remai elective;

3. To remove the one-term restric tion imposed by the constitution o all elected executive and administra tive officers;

4. To remove the prohibitio against establishment of any court not provided for in the constitution;

5. To permit a compulsory work men's compensation law to be passed

6. More home rule for cities an removal of obstacles to county reform

J. E. Reeve
University of Kentucky

Connecticut Governor Modifies Reform Plan

In order to facilitate the accomplish ment of most of the changes propose by the Connecticut Commission o State Government Organization, Gov ernor Chester Bowles on April 18 sen a special message to the legislatur suggesting various modifications o certain commission proposals tha seemed impossible of adoption at thi time. He stated that these points con stitute only 10 to 15 per cent of th total proposal.

Instead of attempting complete con stitutional revision at present he sug gested a series of amendments to b initiated by the legislature under th present three-year procedure. The include elimination of the constitu tional offices of treasurer, comptroller attorney general, county sheriffs, jus tice of the peace, town courts an probate judges, the functions of thes to be handled by statutory appointiv officers or agencies.

Other proposed amendments woul liberalize the amending process, pro vide for annual legislative sessions, re

quire a two-thirds vote instead of a majority of both houses to override a governor's veto, raise legislators' salaries, prohibit a legislator from holding another state position, and provide the direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall and home rule.

Aside from the proposal for separate amendments instead of a new constitution, the chief changes from the commission's plan would be seventeen instead of fourteen executive departments, Senate confirmation of department heads, a specific salary ($15,000) for the latter, and retention of five existing special funds instead of merging all present funds (over 100 in number) into one.

One House Legislature Proposed in Vermont

At a public meeting in Montpelier, Vermont, conducted on April 17 by the commission to consider amendments to the state constitution, Professor Daniel B. Carroll of the University of Vermont urged establishment of a unicameral legislature, as generally favored by political scientists. He recommended a body of 60 members apportioned among the counties on the basis of population.

Professor Andrew Nuquist of the university spoke for more equitable legislative representation than at present. Referring to the 38 largest towns, all over 2000 population, and the 38 smallest (under 300 population) he stated that in the latter group there is one member of the House of Representatives for an average of 179 persons, while in the large towns there is one member for an average of 5,420.

Louisiana Adopts Recodification of Statutes

The Louisiana legislature met in special session in March, primarily to enact a codification of statutes, according to the Council of State Governments. The new code, prepared by the Louisiana Law Institute, is the first recodification in that state since 1870. Provision was made for continuing revision in the future.

Georgia Electoral Methods Survive Court Test

In two recent decisions the United States Supreme Court refused to interfere with two aspects of electoral methods in Georgia—the long established county-unit voting system and the new literacy tests for voters.[1]

On April 17 the court considered the county-unit system used in primary elections, whereby the results depend upon county units instead of direct popular vote; these units range from two to six per county despite vastly different ratios of population. Thus the sparsely populated rural counties are greatly favored to the detriment of the urban counties. The court, by a seven to two vote, designated the matter as a political issue arising from a state's geographical distribution of its electoral strength among its political subdivisions, and declined to pass upon it. Vigorous dissent on the part of Justices Douglas and Black took issue with the hands-off attitude of the majority on an issue where fundamental democracy is involved and where equality of voting privileges is so grossly impaired.

On May 1 the court announced its refusal to review the Georgia statute of February 1949, calling for a re-registration of Georgia's 1,200,000 voters and empowering the registrars of voters to require registrants to read and write sections of the state and federal constitutions or else to give

(Continued on page 305)

[1]See "Georgia Legislature Weakens Democracy," the REVIEW, July 1949, page 339.

Virginia Counties Seek Manager Plan

Efforts in Lane County, Oregon, Fail for Present

PETITIONS were reported being circulated in Norfolk County, Virginia, calling for a special election on adoption of the manager plan. A committee of civic leagues of the county visited Warwick County recently to see the plan in actual operation. Proponents are seeking to have deputy county treasurers attend civic meetings where the plan is discussed to collect the poll tax, thus making such taxpayers eligible to vote. Opponents claim the plan is being advocated merely as a political maneuver by a group recently defeated in an election.

In the same state, in Fairfax County, where the manager plan has been endorsed by various civic groups and petitions are being circulated to place it on the ballot, a group has been formed to combat the movement. It contends that a commission, about to be appointed by the county commissioners, should first study the alternative plans of government from which the county might choose.

Lane County, Oregon, failed to place a proposed manager plan charter on the May 19 primary election ballot, as announced in this section last month.[1] The petition with over 3,800 signatures proved to be two short of the 3,308 necessary, after the election commissioners disqualified a large number of signatures. The deadline for filing was placed at 5:00 P.M. instead of midnight as on previous occasions, and several hundred signatures were uncounted because they were submi ted shortly after the deadline. In th last minute confusion, several pages signatures failed to be notarized, an they too were rejected. The charte committee, in the face of this defea is determined to renew its efforts 1952.

The Garden City, Kansas, *Telegra* offers to support any candidate fo governor who pledges himself to favo adoption of the county manager pla The Salina, Kansas, *Journal* commen that no such candidate will be forth coming but continues, "Not that th idea isn't a good one. The success city managers indicates that count managers could do as much. But ther is so little public interest in such plan that no sensible governor woul be would make such an issue his ow because of the opposition it woul arouse from the small army with stake in the status quo."

The new manager government Montgomery County, Maryland, ha gone to court in an attempt to secur nonpartisan elections for the count council. The points at issue involv apparent inconsistencies in the sta law. Recently the council appointed Citizens Advisory Committee o Housing.

Merced County, California, wi elect fifteen freeholders this month t draft a new charter. The county man ager plan is receiving consideration

The board of commissioners of Kin County, Washington, has set Noven ber 7 as the date for the election an official board of freeholders to dra a charter for the county. An unoffici 35-member King County Advisor Commission, appointed by the coun commissioners last year, has bee working on a proposed charter whic

[1]Page 250.

will be submitted to the official body when it is elected. The Advisory Commission has decided to recommend a nine-man board of county commissioners, which will appoint a county administrator to whom will be delegated the responsibility for operating the various county departments.

City-County Relations under Discussion

The commissioners of Dickens County, Texas, met recently with the Spur city council to discuss construction of a city-county hospital.

Frederick County, Maryland, representatives met recently with those of the city of Frederick regarding cooperative action to improve health and sanitation standards.

The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, has issued a study on *City-County Educational Relationships in Tennessee* showing the complex web of relationships between the city and county school systems. Recent changes in the allocation of sales tax revenues have caused cities to gain revenues for school purposes at the expense of the counties.

Harrison County, Texas, commissioners are planning with the Marshall city council regarding the filing of joint delinquent tax suits.

A proposal has been submitted to the city commission of Salt Lake City, Utah, that the incorporated city "secede" from the remainder of Salt Lake County.

More Discretion Urged for County Welfare Boards

A report issued by a committee of the Kansas County Commissioners Association states that county boards of social welfare have been shorn of practically all authority while being further loaded with financial responsibilities and administrative burdens in conduct of the county social welfare program.

"County boards are without adequate authority to establish the amounts to be given their needy citizens," the report states. "The trend of the laws and the State Department of Social Welfare regulations is to over-simplify the means of measuring need to the point where the county board and its staff can exercise little or no discretion in the amounts given to a person once recognized to be in need."

As an example the report points to two increases ordered by the legislature for old age assistance cases. The 1947 session required the blanket addition of $5 per month to their grants, regardless of need. Another increase of $7 per month was ordered by the 1949 legislature, this time including aid to the blind. Both these became effective in the middle of the county budget year, making it impossible to grant corresponding increases to other needy groups.

Recommendations to the Kansas Legislative Council were made by the committee:

1. Revision of state laws and regulations to give county boards authority to determine need and to give public assistance under general laws and rules whereby statewide uniformity would be attained, to provide a uniform degree of comfort and security rather than a uniform amount of household goods, medical assistance and house rent measured in dollars.

2. Repeal of laws that require county boards to pay arbitrary amounts to certain needy citizens, regardless of need.

3. Enactment of a lien law by which county boards could encourage needy aged persons to keep their homes and the county would be per-

mitted to aid in making improvements to such properties for increased comfort and security in a more economical manner, yet with the assurance that the county welfare fund would be subsequently reimbursed.

4. Enactment of a law requiring signed applications for public assistance, to make it clear to the applicant that he is making a claim for public funds and that he is responsible for his statements in support of his claim.

5. Enactment of laws permitting cooperation with welfare departments of other states in maintaining responsibility of deserting husbands and parents for support of their needy dependents.

Los Alamos County Seeks to Avoid Hatch Act

The U. S. Civil Service Commission has refused to exempt employees of Los Alamos County, New Mexico, from operation of the Hatch Act, but county officials have declared they will continue their efforts to lift the restrictions. At present approximately one-fourth of the county's working population consists of federal employees in the atomic energy installations and, under the terms of the Hatch Act, they cannot engage in partisan political activity. The act permits exemptions only if a majority of the working population consists of federal employees, but Los Alamos County officials may seek corrective legislation to bring the county within the exempt category.

Virginia Legislature Approves School Consolidation

The Virginia legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment that would permit the legislature to consolidate, under a single board, the school districts located in two or more counties or cities.

County Officials' Publication Revamped

The County Officer, monthly publication of the National Association of County Officials, has been extensively revised and expanded to serve as a truly national organ of the association. The April 1950 issue, marking this departure, contains 32 pages including articles of general interest such as "Jefferson and Local Government," "Local History Is Living History" and "Postwar Trends in County Finances."

In a letter to all county officials, the association's president comments: "The final step has been taken to make all of the functions of the National Association of County Officials entirely national in character. This issue of the *County Officer* magazine comes from the association's general offices in Washington, D. C., and the material in it is adjusted fully to the level of the nation-wide program of the association."

Washington Counties Join Retirement Plan

Thirty-six of Washington's 39 counties have elected to join the employee retirement plan adopted by the legislature in 1947 and made optional to counties although mandatory upon the state. The employee contributes 5 per cent of the first $3,600 of his salary; the governmental unit contributes 5 per cent of the entire salary. Of the 21,000 members, approximately one-fourth are employees of highway departments.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

British Liberals Name P. R. as Price of Union

May Consider Churchill Plan for Cooperation Against Labor

THE Liberal party of Great Britain will consider union with the larger Conservative party, according to an address by Lord Moynihan at Leeds, England, on May 6, echoing the results of a conference of the leaders of the party in London on May 2. Such consideration would be only if the Conservatives will pledge to support electoral reform (some form of P.R.) and will assure the Liberals an autonomous status in the joint organization.

"Liberal independence can most surely be safeguarded by electoral reform," said Lord Moynihan. "Are the Conservatives really sincere—will they show their sincerity in a practical way? Will they, for instance, guarantee that if they come back into power electoral reform would rank with the highest priority on their list?"

Conservative interest in enlisting the cooperation of the Liberals doubtless stems from the considerable gain in Conservative members of the House of Commons made at the election last February. The Conservatives now hold 47.4 per cent of the seats and the Liberals could provide a margin of victory, if not with the few seats now held by them then perhaps by the assistance of their more than two and a half million voters at a future election.

The remarkable attrition of the Labor party majority in the last election resulted only in small part from a shift in the popular vote. A change in the somewhat unpredictable variable factors of the single-member district system of representation was chiefly responsible.

Whereas in 1945 the Labor party had obtained 61.9 per cent of the representation with only 47.9 per cent of the popular vote, in 1950, with 46.4 per cent of the popular vote, it obtained only a slight preponderance of the representation, 50.6 per cent. The Conservatives made a modest gain in popular vote—from 39.9 per cent to 43.4 per cent, but their membership in Parliament increased from 29.5 per cent to 47.4 per cent.

Thus it may be said that, whereas the distortions of the representative system in 1945 favored Labor on the whole at the expense of all other groups, in 1950 these distortions largely compensated each other as between the two major parties, both of which shared an overall advantage at the expense of the Liberals. The latter elected but 1.4 per cent of the House although they polled 9.1 per cent of the vote—and perhaps might have drawn more votes if it had not been clear from the outset that a great proportion of Liberal votes would be wasted.

The combined Conservative and Liberal vote in 1950 exceeded the Labor vote by 1,857,864, but the combined Parliamentary representation of the former parties is eight less than the Labor representation, according to figures taken from the *Times* (London) House of Commons Book. Some 187 of the 625 seats were gained by less than an absolute majority of those voting in the constituency in question.

Netherlands Voters Elect Provincial Councils

Little change in the political strength of the major parties resulted from the election of provincial councils in the Netherlands on April 26. The elections were by P.R. (list plan). Results, compared with those of the last provincial elections held in 1946, are given in the accompanying tables. These show the consolidated nationwide results and those for the largest province, South Holland, which includes the city of Rotterdam. (Figures were supplied by the Netherlands Information Bureau from Dutch newspaper reports.)

The number of votes cast was 4,844,336 as compared with 4,674,129 in 1946. The greatest change was the drop in the Communist representation, from 56 to 31 out of the 590 state council seats. The so-called liberal parties — Christian-Historical Union and Freedom and Democracy party— registered the largest gains. The overall results show a continuation of trends noted in the last national election held in 1948.[1]

The Labor party, second largest in the consolidated results, led the poll in provinces containing large cities, as the figures for South Holland show. The Catholic People's party was decisively ahead in other provinces and obtained the largest consolidated vote, 31.6 per cent of the entire poll.

[1]See the REVIEW for September 1948, page 454.

NETHERLANDS PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1950 AND 1946

Party	*Votes and Percentage 1950*	*Votes and Percentage 1946*	*Seats and Percentage 1950*	*Seats and Percentage 1946*
Catholic People's	1,529,483(31.6)	1,468,847(31.4)	189(32.0)	188(31.9)
Labor	1,243,654(25.7)	1,206,267(25.8)	156(26.6)	157(26.8)
Anti-Revolutionary	599,038(12.3)	590,870(12.6)	77(13.1)	78(13.2)
Christian-Historical	507,176(10.4)	452,803(9.7)	70(11.9)	62(10.5)
Freedom and Democracy	411,936(8.5)	297,524(6.4)	49(8.3)	37(6.3)
Communist	329,365(6.8)	533,096(11.4)	31(5.3)	58(9.8)
Political Reform	110,143(2.3)	100,196(2.2)	11(1.8)	10(1.7)
Catholic National	32,024(0.7)		1(0.2)	
Reform League	27,214(0.6)		1(0.2)	
Middle Class	22,124(0.4)		2(0.4)	
Catholic Independent	8,921(0.2)		1(0.2)	
Catholic Democratic	8,010(0.2)		1(0.2)	
Socialist Union	5,949(0.1)		1(0.2)	
Others	9,299(0.2)	23,806(0.5)		
	4,844,336	4,674,129	590	590

SOUTH HOLLAND PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, 1950 AND 1946

Labor	371,677(31.0)	335,411(29.2)	27(32.9)	25(30.5)
Catholic People's	223,815(18.7)	220,678(19.2)	16(19.5)	16(19.5)
Anti-Revolutionary	187,612(15.7)	191,303(16.7)	13(15.9)	14(17.1)
Christian-Historical	136,001(11.4)	115,253(10.1)	9(11.0)	7(8.5)
Freedom and Democracy	120,690(10.1)	95,773(8.4)	8(9.8)	7(8.5)
Communist	79,674(6.7)	141,436(12.3)	5(6.1)	10(12.2)
Political Reform	50,991(4.3)	47,453(4.1)	3(3.7)	3(3.7)
Catholic National	15,281(1.3)		1(1.2)	
Others	9,858(0.8)			
	1,195,599	1,147,307	82	82

Final Figures on Greek Parliamentary Election

A final report from the Greek Information Service on the March 5 election of that country's Chamber of Deputies gives the distribution of the 250 seats as follows: Populist party, 62 seats (24.8 per cent); Liberal party, 56 (22.4 per cent); National Progressive Union, 45 (18.0 per cent); Democratic Socialist party, 35 (14.0 per cent); Democratic Front, 18 (7.2 per cent); Independent Political Coalition, 16 (6.4 per cent); National Regeneration Front (Unionist party), 7 (2.8 per cent); National party, 7 (2.8 per cent); Agrarian Front, 3 (1.2 per cent); New party 1 (0.4 per cent).

These figures differ slightly from those listed in a table in this department last month but are the same as those given in a footnote to that table, reported by the *New York Times.*

P. R. League Loses Valued Trustee

Clarence A. Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles, whose death May 6 is reported elsewhere in this issue,[1] was long a supporter of P.R. As city manager of Cincinnati he was in a position to observe the workings of the Hare system at first hand for a number of years. Mr. Dykstra was a member of the council of the Proportional Representation League from 1925 until the time of his death and a member of its board of trustees since 1938.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 299)

"factually correct answers" to at least ten of 30 questions relating to the governments of Georgia and the United States. The law, when passed, was obviously aimed at reducing if not eliminating the Negro vote.

The South Carolina legislature on April 13 gave final approval to a bill somewhat similar in content and purpose to the Georgia statute. It requires registration for primary and general elections and establishes literacy tests which, however, can be omitted upon proof of certain property ownership.

Federal Personnel Efficiency Studied

A subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Post Office and Civil Service is investigating over-staffing and personnel efficiency in administrative agencies, according to the National Civil Service League, which has been asked to assist. The subcommittee is headed by Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi. The first thing to be done is an analysis of personnel utilization.

Philippine Local Government Review Published

A monthly magazine, *The Local Government Review,* published in the interests of the provinces and municipalities of the Philippines, completed its first year of publication with the December 1949 issue. It is printed in Quezon City, published by Mrs. Petra O. Rivera and edited by Juan F. Rivera, who is at present a graduate student of municipal government administration at the University of Wisconsin.

The publication contains a wide variety of official and unofficial information for local governments including items of new legislation, executive determinations, rulings of the general auditing office, certain court decisions, news on activities of local governments, information for civil servants, patriotic material, etc.

[1]See the League's Business, page 270.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Legislatures Enact Tax and Fiscal Measures

Kentucky Raises Income Tax for Two-year Period

REVERSING the previous trend of the 1940s toward reductions in state income taxes, the Kentucky legislature this year enacted modest increases in its income tax for a two-year period. The rates on corporate net income were raised from 4 per cent to 4½ per cent and on personal net income over $8,000 from 5 per cent to 6 per cent. The tax credit for married couples was lowered from $50 to $40.

The Kentucky legislature also lowered the ad valorem tax for state purposes on unmanufactured agricultural products from 50 cents per $100 of value to 25 cents, imposed a use tax to supplement the existing cigarette sales tax, and imposed a flat tax of $10 on all coin vending machines with amusement features to replace licenses based on the operating cost.

Affecting property tax administration, the legislature enacted a law making it possible for county boards of supervisors to review and change any assessment upon recommendation of the county tax commissioner, State Department of Revenue, county judge, chief finance officer of any city using the county assessment, or the superintendent of any school district in which the property is located. Formerly these agencies could recommend review only to a county circuit court or the State Tax Commission.

New York Gets Modified Assessment Review Law

New York was another state where the legislature revised the procedure for reviewing property assessments. One of the new laws provides that where a tax assessment has been increased in spite of a court order or administrative determination fixing a lower assessment, or where the assessment is found grossly discriminatory, the taxpayer may recover $500 from the municipality as an additional allowance above the court costs.

Another law shifts from the taxpayer to the municipality the cost of proving the municipal assessment ratio (ratio of assessed to full value) if the municipality refuses to stipulate the ratio. This law is expected to be of value in some upstate areas where assessments are made at less than full value.

Both laws are expected to make it feasible for taxpayers with grievances involving small amounts of tax savings to contest assessments. The laws were strongly supported by Governor Dewey but opposed by New York City and by the New York State Conference of Mayors, who claimed that the laws would result in excessive costs to the municipalities and open the door to "a flood of unwarranted and unnecessary tax litigation."

Toll Roads Approved by Legislatures

A major piece of legislation in New York was that providing for financing the construction and operation of a $450,000,000 New York State Thruway. This 486-mile artery, to run from New York City via Albany to Buffalo and thence southwesterly to the Pennsylvania boundary, is already under construction with state highway funds.

The new law establishes a three-member State Thruway Authority,

which will have power to finance and construct the facility on a self-liquidating basis through the sale of special license plates. The license fee schedule has not yet been announced, but is reported to range from $5 for passenger cars to $80 for trucks, with details not yet worked out on the method of collecting from out-of-state users.

Virginia's legislature has also turned to toll roads as an aid to express-highway acquisition. At this year's session there was created a Coastal Turnpike Authority to construct a toll road from Virginia Beach into North Carolina.

The Virginia action brought to seventeen the number of states which since the late 1930s have authorized the investigation of toll roads or constructed or started construction of such facilities. According to Henry K. Evans, transportation specialist of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in *Better Roads* for April 1950, seven states have toll roads under investigation or in the planning stage, two now without toll roads have such roads under construction and five have toll roads in operation. Three states have authorized toll roads but they have not gotten to the planning stage.

Chronologically, the first of the recent toll road developments was initiated by Florida, which in 1937 opened the overseas toll highway from Miami to Key West. In 1940 Pennsylvania opened the famed Pennsylvania Turnpike, now being extended, and Connecticut completed the Merritt Parkway, whose surplus revenues provided for the subsequent construction of the Wilbur Cross Parkway. In 1947 Maine opened the Maine Turnpike and the Hutchinson River and Saw Mill River Parkways in Westchester County, New York, were placed on a toll basis.

Under construction, with completion expected this year, is the New Hampshire Turnpike, spanning the state's narrow coastal section to connect with the Maine Turnpike, and the New Jersey State Turnpike, an ambitious project which eventually will link the northeast corner of the state with the Delaware River Memorial Bridge.

States with toll roads in the planning or investigation stage, in addition to Virginia, are Colorado (between Denver and Boulder), Massachusetts (a link between Connecticut's Wilbur Cross Parkway and the New Hampshire Turnpike), North Carolina (a coastal route), Ohio (a route westward from the Pennsylvania Turnpike to the Indiana border), Oklahoma (between Tulsa and Oklahoma City) and West Virginia (between Bluefield and Moundsville). No action has been taken in Illinois, where toll roads were authorized in 1941, and enabling legislation dating from 1947 is also available in both Georgia and Maryland.

Roanoke Excise Taxes Upheld by State Court

The Roanoke, Virginia, local taxes attacked last year in the courts have been upheld by the Virginia State Supreme Court. The taxes at issue were a two cents per pack tax on cigarettes, a 5 per cent tax on floral designs and a 5 per cent tax on transient rooms. The local hustings court had previously upheld their validity.

Missouri Gas Tax Defeated

Reputedly for the sixth time, Missouri voters on April 4 overwhelmingly defeated an effort to raise the state gas tax above its traditional 2 cents per gallon, lowest in the nation. A rise to 4 cents had been enacted by the 1949 legislature, but circulation of referendum petitions necessitated the calling of a special election. One cent of the increase would have been ear-

marked for county roads, under state supervision. As in preceding elections during the past twelve years, bitter controversy attended the referendum. The increase was supported by Governor Smith, but opposed by the Automobile Club of Missouri among others.

Dayton Voters Adopt Local Income Tax

The Dayton municipal income tax, declared invalid March 8 by the Ohio Supreme Court, was readopted at the polls on May 23, 33,277 to 11,013.

The tax had been enacted last year by ordinance of the city commission. Effective April 1, 1949, it would have provided some $2,250,000, or more than a third of the anticipated 1950 general fund revenues. In the nine months in which it was in operation $1,675,700 was collected.

The issue reached the Ohio Supreme Court after lower courts had decided favorably for the city on a taxpayers' suit challenging the constitutionality of the tax, which affected all persons working or living in the city. The Supreme Court decided, however, that a sentence in a 1945 charter amendment had an ambiguous meaning. That amendment, dealing with ad valorem taxes, said there would be no additional tax without vote of the people. The court believed the wording was ambiguous but said that it would favor the taxpayer as against the taxing authority, holding that the sentence applied to all taxes, not just ad valorem.

The March 8 decision, which in no way questioned the constitutionality of the income tax as such, automatically threw out the city's 3 per cent admissions tax. Dayton and other Ohio cities had adopted the admissions tax after the state vacated the field. But this tax, too, had been adopted in 1947 by the city commission without referendum. It raised $120,000 in 1949.

The city commission immediately ordered elimination of all city positions inaugurated since the income tax had become effective. The retrenchment program, affecting many new and improved city services and involving 324 employees, nearly 15 per cent of the total, became effective March 22.

Since the charter makes no provision for the placing of non-property tax issues on the ballot by the city commission, the initiative method was selected as the means to reenact the income tax program. With signatures of 25 per cent of the registered voters needed to place the issue on the ballot, 48,000 signatures, out of nearly 105,000 registered voters, were obtained in a whirlwind campaign (87 per cent of them valid). The campaign for adoption of the income tax was sponsored by the Civic Representatives Committee. The new program will become effective July 1, 1950, and continue until December 31, 1954.

MAXWELL NATHAN
Information and Research Assistant
Office of City Manager, Dayton

Trained Assessors Urged by Georgia Legislature

A special committee of the Georgia legislature studying the state's revenue and tax structure has recommended sweeping changes in tax assessment procedures which would include employment of a full-time trained assessor in each sizable county and the qualification of assessors by examination.

Other recommendations were for the preparation of assessment manuals by the State Revenue Department, provision for tax supervisors in each congressional district to oversee the assessors in that district and state assistance to meet part of a minimum pay scale for assessors.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Planning Group Activities Grow

Problems Include Housing, Pollution, Zoning, Traffic

THE year 1950 marks the growing usefulness of citizen planning and redevelopment groups many of which are working with official planning commissions to solve the pressing problems of cities whose hit-or-miss growth of the past has created major crises.

A delegates meeting of the Philadelphia Citizens Council on City Planning recently held a discussion on proposed charter provisions relating to city planning. A commission is now drafting a new charter for the city.

The council's *News Letter* reports that Philadelphia's school program for the study of city planning was cited as an outstanding example at the 1949 National Planning Conference in Cleveland. Speaking at the conference, Miss Margaret Carroll, planning technician of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, said: "We covet the rich variety of learning experiences of Philadelphia's children, their Youth Planning Council, their opportunity to participate as *citizens* and not just as school children engaged in a project."

Latest report of the council discusses the Recommended Program of Public Improvements for 1950-1955 as issued by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. The program schedules expenditure of some $537,000,000 for the six-year period as compared with approximately $185,000,000 spent on projects completed or under contract during the five years 1945-1949. A four-page, illustrated leaflet in two colors, just issued by the council, sets forth "some facts pertaining to the background and problems of zoning in Philadelphia."

Nine additional organizations have joined the council: the Philadelphia branch of the National Association of Power Engineers, the Friendship Cooperative House, Inc., Point Breeze Community Council, Institute for Research in Human Relations, Lincoln University, St. Joseph's College, Haverford College, Beaver College and the Greater Olney Civic Association.

The Toledo Regional Planning Association recently conducted a lively discussion on the question, "Shall the City and County Health Offices be Consolidated?" This was a joint meeting with the Toledo Town Meeting of the Y.M.C.A.

The Toledo group's annual dinner heard an illustrated report on "The Progress of Our Master Plan," by Lloyd T. Keefe, director of the master plan, Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions. Colonel Robert C. Downie, vice chairman of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, described the movement to rebuild Pittsburgh and the means by which completion of the task is planned.

Poughkeepsie Active

A membership campaign was launched in February by the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association. The campaign included a number of speaking engagements by association representatives and a brochure setting forth the "punch lines" of the association's program. An exhibit was also held, showing what planning is, what it can do for interrelated communities, the prospective role of the

association and how the citizens may fit into the picture.

The association's fourth survey report, *Traffic,* released in February, has been well received. Certain of its recommendations have caused much discussion and comment, one of the most controversial dealing with the possibility of instituting one-way traffic on certain streets in the business section. Net result of the discussion was that four important streets have been set aside for one-way traffic during a 90-day test period.

The San Francisco Bay Area Council has made a report on *Air Pollution in the San Francisco Bay Area* (16 pages). The council recommends establishment of a Bay Area Air Pollution Group made up of authorities in the field of sanitary and industrial engineering in industry, government and private or public technical agencies, and establishment of voluntary community programs in which industry, business and the general public will cooperate to reduce existing or potential "smog" nuisance or air pollution which is controllable.

The United Housing Council, sponsored by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh) has issued *A Review of 1949 and Prospects for 1950—Progress and Developments in Housing in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County* (seven pages).

The Allegheny conference has announced formation of its Recreation, Conservation and Park Council, chairmanned by Adolph W. Schmidt. James F. Hillman is vice chairman for parks, M. Graham Netting vice chairman for conservation, and Stanton Belfour vice chairman for recreation.

About the Cincinnati Master Plan, published by that city's Citizens Development Committee, answers the question "What will the master plan do for Cincinnati?", pointing out some of the more vital projects included in it.

A citizens committee of 180 has aided Wichita Falls, Texas, in drafting a long range improvement program. Appointed by the city council in 1949, the committee represents all important groups in the city. It worked out a long range capital improvement program which it presented to the citizens by means of forums, radio talks and the newspapers. The bond proposals necessary to carry out the program were adopted at the polls by more than three to one.

Prospects Brighten

The Passaic - Bergen Community Planning Association report, *Some Observations at the Close of the First Quarter of 1950,* announces, "Prospects for progress in realizing the association's objectives are much brighter at the close of the first quarter of 1950 than they were at its beginning." The year began with a greatly curtailed staff because of a reduced budget. Funds were available only for five months. Since then, however, the city of Passaic has budgeted $10,000 for a master plan and has designated the association as the agency to prepare it. Clifton, another city in the area, has contracted with the association for a survey to "determine the number of Clifton families with incomes that make them eligible for low-rent, federally subsidized housing."

The association plans to issue its *Community Planning News* monthly "to provide continuous comment and information." The March number is devoted largely to "Why Passaic Needs a Master Plan."

Representatives of some seventeen North Jersey shore communities met in Rumson, New Jersey, late in March to listen to experts in the municipal and industrial planning fields and to discuss organization of a sectional planning board to produce a program for the development of eastern Mon-

mouth County. Many towns and cities in this area are so closely joined they appear as one community, but each has its separate city officials, fire and police departments, schools, business sections, etc.

A Community Development Conference, sponsored by the University of Texas and the Department of Texas of the American Legion, had delegates from 53 Texas cities, the states of Tennessee, Oklahoma, Mississippi and New Mexico, as well as Mexico, according to a report in *Planning and Civic Comment*.[1] The conference passed a resolution requesting appointment of a permanent committee to follow the recommendations growing out of the conference and to make recommendations to the Texas governor and legislature on the furtherance of the planning movement on a permanent basis. As a result of the conference many Texas communities have already voiced their active interest in overall planning.

Citizen School News

"Desuetude and inertia inevitably collapsed under the force of young ideas as 322 of the brightest minds in high schools of the commonwealth took over its direction, from the post of governor down," said the Boston *Herald* editorially on April 1. The newspaper referred to Massachusetts' annual Good Government Day, conducted by the Massachusetts Civic League and sponsored by Senator Sumner G. Whittier of Everett.

The public schools committee of the Seattle Municipal League is "embarking on a project to find out whether or not Jimmy and Susie are being prepared by their teachers in the Seattle school system to become alert, intelligent, discriminating and conscientious citizens of Seattle," according to the *Seattle Municipal News*. The committee is cooperating with the supervisors of the school system. The league invites its members and other lay citizens, school teachers and pupils to contribute their views and suggestions on the project. It is expected that the survey will take about six months to complete.

The Seattle committee, boasting some 50 members, has been divided into four subcommittees on teaching of history and structures of national and state governments; teaching of structures and services of local governments including Seattle, its school district, King County and the Port of Seattle; teaching of attributes of good citizenship; and best practices in teaching citizenship employed in other school systems.

* * *

Women Voters Hold Sessions

This spring marked the biennial convention of the National League of Women Voters. Meeting at Atlantic City with almost a thousand delegates present, the league took action on its program for the next two years, elected officers and listened to such speakers as James H. Rowe, Jr., who spoke on highlights of the Hoover commission report; Howard Penniman of the State Department, who discussed the place of political parties; and Mrs. Edith Welty, former mayor of Yonkers, on tips for working in parties. Highlight of the conference was the dinner addressed by Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Miss Anna Lord Strauss, who has been national league president for six years, retired. She was succeeded by Mrs. John G. Lee of Farmington, Connecticut.

Practically all the state leagues of

[1]Published by the American Planning and Civic Association and the National Conference on State Parks, Washington, D. C.

women voters held annual sessions in May at which programs for the coming year were adopted and reports on the past year's activities discussed. Among the proposals on state programs were: Connecticut—reorganization of state government to assure responsible and responsive government in the public interest; Indiana—revision of the state constitution and a survey and correlation of problems of local governments for the purpose of recommending changes in the interest of greater economy and efficiency; Wisconsin—state finance and taxation including measures to provide adequate revenues for essential services through taxes based as largely as possible on ability to pay as well as support of a single overall executive budget with full biennial legislative review; Massachusetts—study of state government with a view to supporting changes needed to make it more responsive and representative, equipped to meet efficiently and economically the changing needs of its citizens, and support and extension of council-manager government with proportional representation for cities and towns.

Mrs. Edith Welty, former mayor of Yonkers and a pioneer in the city manager movement in her city, addressed the League of Women Voters of Hoboken at its annual dinner meeting.

The annual convention of the New York City League, meeting all day May 23, heard Dr. Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration and newly appointed executive director of the mayor's committee to survey the city's administration.

* * *

Local Civic Groups Meet

The 38th annual meeting of the Detroit Citizens League was held on May 9. Phil S. Hanna, business columnist of the Chicago *Daily News*, addressed the group on "How Much Debt Can We Stand."

The Citizens Union of New York City held its 53rd annual meeting at a luncheon on May 13. Speakers and guests of honor included Mayor de-Lesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans; Maurice Evans, actor and playwright; Luther Gulick, head of the Mayor's Committee on City Management Survey; and Richard S. Childs, chairman of the union. The occasion marked Mr. Childs' retirement as chairman of the organization. He is succeeded by Milton M. Bergerman, chairman of the union's committee on candidates.

The 47th anniversary dinner of the Chicago City Club was held April 25. Speakers included Mayor Martin H. Kennelly, Dr. Herold C. Hunt, superintendent of schools, and Dr. Charles E. Merriam, emeritus professor of political science of the University of Chicago.

* * *

New Civic Club Bulletin

April marked the issuance of the first number of *Civic Bulletin for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*, published by the Civic Club of Allegheny County. Its editor is Clarence G. Reid. The new bulletin is devoted in large measure to the activities of the organization. This issue lists the club's committees, urging members to sign up for those in which they would like to work.

* * *

Voters Directories Appear

Spring brings its usual crop of reports on candidates running for primary elections. *Greater Cleveland*, published by the Cleveland Citizens League, devotes its April 24 issue to a report on primary candidates for

(Continued on page 317)

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Public Schools vs. City Government

Administrative, Political, Fiscal Problems Discussed

IS PUBLIC education properly a function of government, a government in itself, or a thing apart from or even above government? This question in various forms is being widely discussed, largely as a result of an active campaign by some professional educators for virtually complete independence of education from what they call political government from the United States Office of Education down to the smallest school district. Recently, however, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York has aked Dr. Luther Gulick, in charge of the current study of that city's government, to include investigation of the possibility of making the school board and its fiscal operations entirely independent of the city government. This query on the part of the mayor is because of increasing pressure on the city government for larger school expenditures.

Two reports, arriving at opposite conclusions on the question of "fiscal independence" for city schools, provide background for this inquiry: *Fiscal and Administrative Control of City School Systems, New York State,* by Frederick C. McLaughlin, published last year by the Public Education Association of New York City for 25 cents and *Should New York City Adopt Fiscal Independence for Education?* by the New York Citizens Budget Commission (1950).

The study by the Public Education Association makes a long excursion into the confusing history of laws affecting city school districts in New York State, discusses friction between the New York City schools and city government especially during the La-Guardia administration, and quotes extensively the findings and opinions of numerous reports on school government. Its philosophical base is perhaps best developed in a 1937 study by Charles A. Beard for the Educational Policy Commission, entitled *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy.* It quotes extensively, mainly to query or disagree with its conclusions, a 1938 study by Henry B. Nelson and Jerome B. Kerwin, *Schools and City Government.*[1]

The latter concludes that "no particular structural pattern of school and city relationships constitutes a dependable safeguard against politics in the schools" and in general argues for substantial amalgamation of schools and municipal government. The Beard report, on the other hand, supports what he finds to be the traditional concept that the authorities in charge of public schools "are to stand apart from the executive and legislative branches of the government which respond annually, biennially, or quadrennially to the majority or plurality of votes cast in popular elections at the close of political campaigns."

The report by the Citizens Budget Commission summarizes arguments for fiscal independence as developed by the Public Education Association and others, and gives its own arguments *contra.* It concludes: "Removing politics and meddling from education are laudible objectives. But these objectives can be achieved by methods less drastic and more effective than fiscal independence."

[1]University of Chicago Press.

An unfortunate result of the traditional separation between education and other public functions has been the tendency to divorce research on the organizing, financing and overall control of public education from other governmental research. Professional educators have tended to regard research in these fields as their own private preserve and to deplore intrusion by political scientists and governmental researchers as such. The latter have, on the other hand, tended to shy away from such research and sometimes when they have entered the field have done so with rather limited perspective and objectives.

Consequently, it is refreshing to receive from the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research a comprehensive 66-page study of *Administrative Organization and Relationships in the New Orleans Public School System* for the Orleans Parish school board. The study outlines present organization and procedures and makes comprehensive recommendations for reorganization along lines familiar to modern students and practitioners of public administration.

Although the superintendent of schools is nominally responsible to the Orleans Parish school board for "virtually all of the school program" the study found that "the board has, in effect, reduced the authority of the superintendent by dealing directly with individual subordinate administrators on specific problems." Pointing out that this requires an "unreasonable . . . contribution in time from the members of the school board" and is "devastating to the morale of employees at all levels" the study recommends defining the relations between the governing body, the chief administrator and the staff in terms familiar to students of the council-manager plan.

There is no doubt that similar findings would be in order in many other school districts where boards of education are bogged down in administrative details or where responsibility for management is divided between the superintendent of schools, the business manager, the secretary of the board of education and other functionaries reporting directly to the board.

An examination of the New Orleans bureau's report confirms the belief that students of administration, both in education and in local and state government, would benefit considerably by a freer and more cordial collaboration and exchange of experience and ideas.

The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, which has headquarters at 2 West 42nd Street, New York City, is currently promoting widespread citizen action for improvement of the public schools throughout the country. This is stimulating an increasing number of surveys, amateur and professional, of local school programs and administration.

Citizen Action for Schools

Since one of the objectives of the National Citizens Commission is wider useful citizen participation in educational planning and government, it will doubtless be interested in finding ways to conserve civic energy now being wasted by lay members of boards of education on administrative and other details that ought to be handled by a professional staff. The New Orleans study reported that one of the members of the local school board "stated that he devoted the equivalent of 69 full working days to school problems in 1948, exclusive of evening and night sessions of the board or participation in community activities relating to schools."

Bureau Notes

The 1950 conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel in Asbury Park, New Jersey, September 6, 7 and 8. The presentation of the 1950 GRA award is one of the events.

The newly organized Public Research Council of Louisiana, with headquarters at Baton Rouge, has elected F. Hugh Coughlin as its president, Parrish Fuller as executive vice-president, and a vice president from each of the seven areas of the state which the council will serve. W. Floyd Williamson was chosen secretary and Walter B. Jacobs, treasurer.

The *1949 Annual Report* of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, addressed to the members of the board of control and the city council, describes, among other things, its year's work in connection with municipal-provincial relations, metropolitan problems, community councils and administration.

The official record of the *Proceedings of the 1949 Ninth Annual Conference of the Western Governmental Research Association* is now available at one dollar. Apply Box 13, Library Building, University of California, Berkeley. Plans are now under way for the association's tenth annual conference, September 28 and 29, at San Francisco.

The 28th annual report of the Nevada Taxpayers Association appears in the April 1950 issue of *Nevada Tax Review,* Reno.

The March 9 issue of the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau's *Just a Moment* is titled "1949 in Review." March 30 marks issue No. 1,000, the nineteenth year of uninterrupted publication.

The first issue of *Town and City,* official monthly publication of the Tennessee Municipal League, is that for January-February. Its supplement, "How M.T.A.S. Can Serve Tennessee Cities," by Gerald W. Shaw, announces establishment of the Tennessee Municipal Technical Advisory Service, under the direction of the University of Tennessee.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Jack A. Rhodes, assistant director of the Oklahoma Legislative Council, has been appointed director of the council succeeding L. D. Melton. Mr. Rhodes, who has been studying under a fellowship in England, will return to the United States in late June to assume his new duties.

Dr. Christian L. Larsen, director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland, succeeds Dr. Joseph M. Ray as executive secretary of the Maryland League of Municipalities. Dr. Ray will be retained as a consultant to the league.

In the fall of 1950 Professor Edward W. Weidner of the University of California at Los Angeles will join the staff of Michigan State College where he will be responsible for developing a program in training and research in public administration.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

Municipal Airport Revenues. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 13, 1950. 2 pp.

Budget

Statement by Harold Riegelman, Counsel to Citizens Budget Commission, on the 1950-51 Executive Budget. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1950. iv, 27 pp.

Civil Service

Civil Service in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Gov-

ernment Research, *Your Government,* April 15, 1950. 3 pp.

Debt

Debt of the State of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1950. 7 pp.

Providence Owes More. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 1950. 1 p.

Industrial Development

Industrial Development in South Dakota. With Special Reference to the Tax Climate for Business and Industry. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, 1950. 23 pp.

Parking

Parking Provisions for New Buildings. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* April 27, 1950. 2 pp.

Planning

Boston Needs a Better Planning Law. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 10, 1950. 3 pp.

Police

Police Survey Committee Recommendations. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* April 27, 1950. 2 pp.

Referendum

Government by the People. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* March 3, 1950. 5 pp.

Research

Current Research Projects in Public Administration, 1950. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1950. 54 pp. $1.

State Government

State Government Reorganization—A Promise and a Challenge. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Special Bulletin,* March 8, 1950. 2 pp.

Streets and Highways

Administration of City and County Roads in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* March 1950. 4 pp.

What About Highways? No Function Can Be Viewed Alone. By J. Roy Holland. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* March 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Assessment Totals Higher. Tax Revenue Rise Will Help in Meeting City Budget Deficit. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 28, 1950. 3 pp.

City's Rank in Tax Revenues. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 25, 1950. 3 pp.

Costs for Towns and Smaller Cities. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* March 6, 1950. 1 p.

County Property Taxes. Total for One Level Tops Quarter Billion. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* March 1950. 13 pp. 25 cents.

Local Revenues. I—The Local Revenue Problem. II—Property Tax Limitation. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 22 and 29 pp. respectively.

The Montana Property Tax Dollar. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* March 1950. 1 p.

1935-1950 Revenue Trends in Milwaukee County Reflect Growing Urbanization of Entire Area. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 25, 1950. 2 pp.

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1950. 16 pp.

Property Tax Rates in Erie County. A Summary of the Tax Rates of the Three Cities, 16 Villages and 25 Towns in Erie County. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, 1950. 24 pp. $1.

State and Local Tax Trends. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,

Wisconsin Taxpayer, March 1950. 7 pp.

Status of Economic Commission's Recommendations. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 2, 1950. 3 pp.

Status of the Property Tax 1945 and 1949 in 43 Cities and Towns Within the Boston Metropolitan Area. An Experiment in Methods of Municipal Analysis. Cambridge, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, 1950. 68 pp. Charts. $2.

A Ten Year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1950. 4 pp.

Third Annual Report on the Taxing Units in Harris County. Part III. Financial Information. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association, 1950. 52 pp. Tables.

Total Taxes in Wisconsin Up Again; Near All-Time Record. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1950. 6 pp.

Traffic

The Cross-River Tide Keeps Rising. (Statistics on vehicular traffic across Delaware River in the vicinity of Philadelphia.) Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 7, 1950. 4 pp.

Transportation

Transportation Rates, Products Transported and Trade Barriers Important to South Dakota, 1949. (Chapter VI deals with trade barriers between states as a result of motor truck regulations of weights, sizes, equipment, licenses and regulations.) By L. A. Poth. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, 1950. 110 pp.

Water Works

Rochester and Its Water Works. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin,* March-April, 1950. 4 pp.

CITIZEN ACTION

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federal, state and county offices. Included is a statement of the principles governing the report.

Several issues of the *Oregon Voter,* published in Portland, list candidates with their biographies, platforms and slogans—"Some grave, some gay, some vapid," says the front cover.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County and the Allegheny County League of Women Voters have published their joint *Voters' Directory* for the May 16 primary. These groups make no recommendations as to favored candidates. On the other side of the fence is the Seattle Municipal League, whose *Municipal News* not only publishes facts about the candidates but gives its opinion as to their fitness for office. The Seattle league has also made recommendations on several local questions—an administrative aid to the mayor, a transit commission, daylight saving time, self-service gasoline stations and additional low-rent public housing.

The Ohio League of Women Voters' broadside on state candidates for the primary elections, in addition to biographical material, carries replies to its questionnaire asking: (1) What is your opinion of a fixed formula for the distribution of the local government fund; (2) What changes, if any, do you favor in the structure and administration of civil service in Ohio.

The Commonwealth Club of California discussed state proposals on the June ballot at a luncheon meeting. These include a proposed bond issue for veterans' farms and homes, giving the legislature permission to exempt veterans buying homes under state loans from taxes, and pledging parking meter funds to finance off-street parking.

Books in Review

Our Sovereign State. Edited by Robert S. Allen. New York, Vanguard Press, Inc., 1949. xxxviii, 413 pp. $5.

This is a companion volume to *Our Fair City* and, like that collection, consists of descriptions of local politics by local political newspaper reporters who were apparently urged by the editor to "make it hot." The jacket blurb calls it "a devastating exposé of corruption" and the editor's ambition to be a second Lincoln Steffens—and sell books—shows itself in his introduction.

Nevertheless, taken with salt, this volume provides vivid, and occasionally lurid, accounts of the worst that could be found in the state polities of twelve states—California, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah and Wisconsin. (Three of them overlap the chapters which V. O. Key, Jr., in his *Southern Politics* devotes to each of eleven southern states. The two books thus provide a total of twenty up to date, if oversimplified, source descriptions of state governments.)

The credibility of the stories is improved by the failure of most of the twelve local authors to rise to Editor Allen's heights of invective. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Nebraska account, written in a mood of honest pride, with a particularly useful picture of the working of its single-house legislature. But Mr. Allen, seizing on the only item of it that suits his thesis, writes in the introduction, "Senator George Norris's unique unicameral legislature defiantly wipes out rent control at the behest of Omaha realty interests." Whereas the chapter author had said, "The rent-decontrol bill . . . could have been attributed to Nebraska's hatred of controls, its opposition to regimentation, especially in the rural areas which furnished the votes for decontrol. Only five of the more populous Nebraska communities were troubled by housing shortages."

But broadly the tirade against the political conditions of state government is warranted. Malapportionment of legislative seats is desperately bad and common, state officers are often political adventurers or party stooges, legislators are of low competency with high turnover, and decent leadership at the state level is scarce, despite some able governors. The evidence supports the doctrines of the National Municipal League — that governors should appoint all other state administrators, the primaries should be reformed to make party officials sponsor their candidates subject to contests, legislators should be fewer and more important and in a single house, cities and counties should have home rule, constitutions need simplification of structure and language.

R. S. C.

Communities for Better Living. By James Dahir. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xiii, 321 pp. $4.

An immense collection of cases, briefly described and illustrated, of effective non-governmental activity by citizens organizing to improve their community environments.

The narratives range from Ebenezer Howard's garden cities to the Committee for Kentucky.

Municipal and Other Local Governments. By Marguerite J. Fisher and Donald G. Bishop. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. viii, 664 pp. $6.35.

The authors are associate professors at the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and this orderly text

has grown out of their courses. It is designed to take the laity as well as advanced students into techniques of local administrative departments so far as lay citizen interest warrants and to provide some basis for judgment of municipal performance.

The Book of the States 1950-51. Edited by Frank Smothers and M. Clair Cotterill. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1950. xi, 839 pp. $7.50.

This eighth biennial edition brings down to date its familiar array of rosters of officials and legislators in all states and a total of 850 pages of factual data together with brief reviews of new developments in state governmental activities and trends.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Airports

Administration and Financing of Municipally Owned Airports in Michigan. By Eugene G. Moody. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 24 pp. $1.50.

Civil Rights

Civil Rights in the United States in 1949. A Balance Sheet of Group Relations. New York 23, American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1950. 71 pp. 25 cents.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1950. 27 pp. $1.

County Government

Laws of Montgomery County 1949. Edited by David Macdonald. Rockville, Maryland, Office of County Attorney, 1949. v, 187 pp.

Highways

Highways in Our National Life. A Symposium. Edited by Jean Labatut and Wheaton J. Lane. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1950. xvi, 506 pp. $7.50.

International Relations

Aiding Underdeveloped Areas Abroad. Edited by Halford L. Hoskins. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* March 1950. viii, 259 pp. $2.

Metropolitan Areas

Economic Base Study of the Philadelphia Area. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 79 pp. charts, tables.

Personnel

Have You Met "Milo" Greene . . . ? (Handbook for City Employees). San Jose, California, Civil Service Department, 1950. 25 pp. illus.

Our Job with Portland. (Handbook for City Employees). Portland, Oregon, Civil Service Board, 1950. 30 pp.

State Distribution of Public Employment in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 21 pp.

Your Career with the City of Dayton. A Manual of Information for Municipal Employees. Dayton, Ohio, Office of City Manager, Personnel Section, 1950. 38 pp. illus.

Your Security: Present and Future as a City of Norfolk Employee. An Important Message to Every City Employee. Norfolk, Virginia, Board of Trustees of the Employees' Retirement System, 1950. 15 pp.

Planning

Saratoga Springs Looks to the Future. Toward a Balanced Community Life—Modern Hotels, Stores, Housing, City Services, New Industries,

Modern Schools, Recreation, Community Center. Saratoga Springs, New York, City Planning Board, 1950. 35 pp. illus. maps.

Ports

The Port of New York. Crossroads of the World's Ship and Air Lanes. (Promotion Kit) New York 11, The Port of New York Authority, 1950. Variously paged.

Sewage Disposal

Municipal Sewer Ordinances. Prepared under Direction of the Committee on Sewage Works Practice by the Subcommittee on Municipal Sewer Ordinances. Champaign, Illinois, Federation of Sewage Works Associations, 1949. 44 pp.

Snow Removal

Snow Removal Practices in Cities under 200,000 Population and Snow and Ice Control. Report of the APWA Committee on Street Cleaning and Snow Removal. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1950. 66 pp. $2.

State Government

American State Government and Administration. A State by State Bibliography. Compiled by W. Brooke Graves, Norman J. Small and E. Foster Dowell. Chicago 37, The Council of State Governments, 1949. 84 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Taxation and Federal Aid in Tennessee 1948-1949. By Robert G. Allison. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1950. 34 pp.

Federal Taxes and Expenditures. By Committee on Federal Finance. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1950. 14 pp.

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1949. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1950. 135 pp.

Local Tax Legislation in 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March 1950. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Report to the Legislature for the Year Ending December 31, 1949. Boston, The Finance Commission, 1950. 33 pp.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1949. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 17 pp.

Taxing Municipal Bond Income. By Lyle C. Fitch. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950. xi, 161 pp. $2.50.

Your Money and Mine. State Finances 1948-49. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1950. 55 pp.

Traffic

Directing Traffic—Signals and Gestures. Directing Traffic—Vehicle Movements. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, Traffic Institute. 9 and 21 pp. respectively. 15 cents each.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for July 1950. Theme: **Vacation Driving.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

The Price of Indifference. The Safety Kit. Chicago, The Advertising Council in Cooperation with the National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Water Rates

Rethinking Water Rate Structures. Panel Discussion presented at Chicago June 2, 1949. New York 18, American Water Works Association, 1949.